SLAVIC

MYTHOLOGY

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Slavic Mythology

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I.

THE MEANING OF SLAVIC MYTHOLOGY

The Slavs, despite their apparent polytheism, recognised a single God, the father of nature, and they understood this being more consciously than the Greeks understood the mysterious Fate, or the Scandinavians their Alfater, who does not intervene in human affairs. The monotheism of the Slavs is indisputable. Procopius of Caesarea states that, in his time, the Slavs recognised a single God, the creator of thunder and lightning, and, moreover, venerated spirits which, according to their understanding, inhabited nature du[1]. Helmold says the same of the Baltic Slavs: although the Slavs acknowledge many deities, they are aware of a supreme

being and distinguish from their gods the heavenly God, the almighty, who cares for heaven and earth[2]. In Otto's biographer, the Slavs themselves say that they acknowledge the great God, possessing all riches amis[3].

From the chronicle of our Nestor, it is evident that the Russian Slavs had a concept of a single supreme being, whom they chiefly called God and distinguished from Perun, the chief of the secondary deities [4]. Other deities were beings that originated from or emanated from the supreme being. Thus Helmold explains to us this fundamental tenet of Slavic pagan theology: 'The other deities,' he says, 'flowed gradually from the highest God and are, as it were, born of his blood; and of them, the one who is closer to God is the higher and more perfect god [5]. Consequently, the fundamental principle of Slavic religion is emanation; according to the Slavic conception, both moral and physical nature are regarded as living, containing within every one of their manifestations a life-giving spirit emanating from the Creator. This principle of emanation gave Kollar and G anush[6] reason to see a unity between Slavic and Indian religion.

However, the Slavic conception of the deity is by no means pantheism. God, or Prabog, as Kollar calls him, did not create the world himself, nor did he disperse into his creation, but merely sent forth from himself spirits which inhabit matter and serve, as it were, as mediators between the inanimate

matter and the life-giving principle, yet exist independently of God. Slavic belief bears a striking resemblance to the Zend-Avesta's teaching on the Feruans and the Ize dahs[7].

The emanation closest to God is light, and upon careful examination, we shall find that the most essential part of Slavic paganism relates to the worship of light. The Slavs held the belief that the being of light appeared on earth and was incarnated in the human race. This is clear from a passage in the Ipatiev Chronicle. Once upon a time, Svarog (the supreme being, the father of light) reigned on earth; he taught mankind the art of smithing and the bonds of marriage; afterwards, his son Dazhbog reigned, who is called 'the sun' ( )[8]. In the word Svarog, one can discern the Sanskrit word svar, meaning 'light' or 'sky'; our word 'var' may well derive from this. Guided by this important passage, we shall endeavour to identify, in many of the Slavic idols revered as special beings, a similar worship of both physical and spiritual light. Dietmar of Merseburg states that in the town of Redegast (Retre), the Polabian Slavs had a temple with wooden images of deities, of whom Svarog zhych[9] was the highest. Knowing that Svarog is light and the father of Dazhbog, who is also light and the sun, it seems not difficult to see that Dazhbog and Svarozhich are one and the same figure. His temple, says Ditmar, was built of wood and supported at its base by animal horns; the walls were covered with various depictions of gods

and goddesses; within the temple stood gods, inscribed with mysterious characters, formidably adorned in helmets and shields; in the midst of them all stood Svarozhich, revered above all others by the pagans, who would bring their banners to the temple when they were not needed in war. Certain individuals, chosen by the inhabitants, were appointed to guard the temple; when sacrifices were offered or the deity was implored to appease its wrath, they would sit whilst everyone else stood, and, whispering, would take turns striking the ground: in this way, they resolved doubts by casting lots; after which, having adorned the horse, which was held sacred, with green branches, they led it through spears stuck into the ground, crossed one over the other. When a favourable omen was observed in both divinations, they proceeded with the planned undertaking; if not, they abandoned their intention[10]. The town where the idol stood in the temple is situated, according to Ditmar, in the village of Rederarium; it has three gates and is surrounded by a sacred grove.

Adam of Bremen, in his Ecclesiastical History, describes in the town of Retre a temple of an idol called Radegast. The town where the temple stood had nine gates and was surrounded by a lake, across which those who were to go there for sacrifices and divination crossed by a bridge[11]. The same is stated by Helm ld[12], who adds that Radegast was the supreme deity and that worship of him took many different forms. People flocked to the temple for sacrifices and divination: these rites were performed together.

Before the service began, the priests would consult the oracles and, by casting lots, make prophecies as to whether the sacrifice would be acceptable or unacceptable at that time; and if it was acceptable, they would slaughter bulls and sheep; the priest would pour the blood of the sacrifice onto the idol to make it more favourable; then advice and prophecies were proclaimed. During the persecution of Christianity, followers of Jesus were also sacrificed. Regarding the appearance of Radegast, Adam of Bremen states that the idol was gilded oy[13], and its throne was purple. Of course, this is an exaggeration: the idol was likely gilded. A detailed description of Radegast has been left to us by the Saxon chronicle oy[14]. An eagle with outstretched wings sat upon his head, and on his chest was a black bull's head depicted on a shield: the idol held this shield in his right hand, whilst in his left he held a double-edged axe.

Radegast and Svarozhich were one and the same deity. The evidence is as follows: **1.** When speaking of Svarozhich, Ditmar refers to the town where he was located as the town of Radegast, and from the Saxon and Lubeck chronicles we learn that the worship of Radegast took place in various parts of the Slavic lands, and those towns where the shrines of this deity were located were named after him. Dietmar may have described one of the many temples similar to the one described in the Retra by Adam of Bremen and Helmold. **2.** People come to both Svarozhich and Radegast for sacrifices and oracles.
3. Both are referred to as supreme deities. If, however, Radegast is identified with

Svarozhich, then he is one and the same as Dazhbog, and signifies the embodiment of physical and moral light. The legend of the kingdom of the sun is evident in the beliefs concerning Radegast, for the Slavs believed that Radegast was a hero who once reigned in glory, then fell in battle and became a deity m[15], i.e. he was associated with the sacred story of the incarnation of the light-bearing principle, which fought against an opposing evil being, as we shall see more clearly below. But it is already quite clear that Radegast, or Svarozhich, was a mediator between heaven and earth, the highest wisdom; at the same time, Vacerad states that Radigost, grandson of Kirt (kor — sun), was the patron of hospitality and industry, for 'guest' also meant ' ' [16]. At the same time, he was a deity of war, as evidenced by the weapons in his hands and the bloody sacrifices; and that is why he is called the Slavic Mars: we already know that, according to Slavic belief, it was a deity who taught people to wield weapons alongside agriculture, just as with the Zend people [17]. Let us recall that Apollo, too, was depicted as a warrior, an archer; and amongst all sun-worshippers, the light-bearing principle was portrayed as warlike, in the sense of its struggle against darkness and evil. — Svanovit, to whom high priestly worship was performed on the island of Rügen and described by Saxo Grammaticus, had the same significance as Svarozhich and Radegast. On a chalk cliff at the north-eastern tip of Rügen stood a fortified but small settlement

or castle of Arkona, which served for the performance of religious rites and as a refuge for the inhabitants during enemy raids. In the centre of the stronghold was a square; on it stood a wooden, elegantly crafted building, in which the idol of Svanotvit was housed. The outer entrance to this building was arched, and the cornices were adorned with crudely carved designs. The temple was divided into two parts: in the centre of the building stood a chamber supported by four columns; hanging canopies served as its walls. Apart from the ceiling, which gleamed with red paint, the inner chamber was not connected to the outer one. There stood the idol of Svanovitis, towering above any human height, with four heads and four necks; from both sides were visible two backs and two chests; the idol's beard was carefully trimmed, its hair cut short, so that the artist imitated the hairstyles of the Rügen people. In one hand the idol held a horn of wine, which a priest appointed to the sanctuary filled with wine annually on a designated day, and from this wine he divined the prosperity of the coming year. He held his left hand bent, like a bow—according to other accounts, he held a bow in it. The idol was clothed; the garment reached to the knees, which were not carved from the same block of wood as the torso, but so skilfully joined to it that the keenest eye could not discern the seam. Its feet stood on bare earth, and the soles sank into the ground. Beside the idol lay its accessories: a saddle, a bridle and a remarkable, enormous sword, the scabbard and hilt of which gleamed with silver and exquisite

work. On certain days, services were held for Svantovit and divinations were made to foretell the future. He was the god of the earth's fruits and the god of war. Every man and every woman considered it a religious duty to offer him a coin as a gift; a third of the spoils taken in war also belonged to him; an armed guard of three hundred mounted warriors and as many foot archers was assigned to protect him; they fought in the name of the god and were called his army: everything they acquired by force of arms or cunning was brought to the priest, who kept the deity's possessions in locked chests, in special storehouses. In addition to the abundance of money, these storehouses contained much purple cloth, now decayed with age, and a vast quantity of gifts of various kinds, both public and private, brought by the generosity of those who had made vows. The whole of the Slavic world held the Rügen idol in high esteem, and even foreign kings sent gifts there. In other places too there were similar shrines and images of this deity; these were looked after by priests of lesser rank than the Arkonian one. In addition to the treasures, there was a white horse at this temple, whose mane and tail were forbidden to be braided. Only a priest was allowed to mount it and feed it; the animal, belonging to the deity, was not to be debased by frequent and ordinary riding. The Slavs believed that Svanovit himself rode this horse and fought his enemies; they substantiated this by claiming that they often saw how the horse, put in the stable in the evening, would be found in the morning completely

covered in sweat, as if after a long ride. This horse was used for divination. When they gathered for war, they would place a triple row of spears in front of the temple, their points driven into the ground, two in each row. The spears stood at right angles to one another. Thus, there were six spears in total; the distance from the first row to the second was the same as from the second to the third. After solemn prayers, the priest led the horse by the bridle through the three rows. If, whilst leaping, the horse lifted its right leg first, this was considered a happy omen; if it lifted its left leg first, it was considered an inauspicious sign, and the undertaking would then be abandoned. Similarly, the Slavs would not set out on a voyage, or indeed undertake any important matter, until they had tested the animal's leap. In addition to this form of divination, priests would divine using small tablets: they would take three tablets, one side of which was white and the other black, and throw them; if two landed with the white side up, it signified good fortune, and if with the black side up, misfortune. And the women at the temple would divine by the lines in the ashes of a dying coal. Sacred banners and eagles, used in war, were also kept at the temple of Svatovit. The Slavs held one banner in particular esteem, which was called the 'stanitsa'; its appearance inspired courage. When the Danes seized this banner, the people of Arkona lost heart to such an extent that they lost the city, whereas until then they had defended it with great tenacity m[18].

Helmold states that by Svanotvit the Slavs meant the sun; they attributed primacy to the sun over other deities and dedicated to it

The temple of Ku of the world[20]. The temple served as a place of divination for visitors from various countries: annual offerings were brought there, and sacrifices for the annual purification rite were performed. In Helmold's account, he is referred to as the god of gods: the other gods were venerated before him as lesser gods [21]. Like Samson Grammaticus, Helmold also recognises him as the god of war: among other blood sacrifices, Christians were also offered up to him as enemies of this deity. Svanovit was the patron of the fine arts and trade: every merchant arriving in Slavic lands could not exercise the free right of his trade until he had paid a gift to Svanovit u[22]. Hence the priests possessed great treasures; all civil authority was under their consecration, and the people dared not undertake any enterprise without first seeking the hope of help from the god[23]. In the accounts of Svantovit, traces of his incarnation on earth are evident. His riding a white horse indicates that he was understood not only as the life-giving power of the sun in general, but also as an incarnation in human form. His warlike nature and his struggle against enemies hint at the historical aspect of the cult. Saxo Grammaticus and Helmold surmise that the worship of Svantovit originated from St Vitus, the memory of whom was brought there by missionaries, the Corvey monks, during the reign of Louis the Pious, and that the Slavs, having adapted his name, venerated their own god, Bog ov, under this name[24]. One must be exceedingly narrow-minded

to believe such an etymology. Helmold himself ld[25] states that the Slavs worshipped the sun under the symbol of Svanovit, and the worship of light certainly did not arise after the arrival of the Corvey monks; moreover, the pagan rites and attributes of this deity are so widespread amongst the Slavic tribes and contain so many elements common to paganism that the antiquity of the worship of Svanovit cannot be traced back solely to the 9th century. It is likely that the Slavs told the monks about the kingdom of Svanovit on earth and called him their great patron. The monks, not knowing the Slavic language, concluded from the similarity of the names that this figure must be St Vitus. This view proved useful to the missionaries. According to Helmold, the pagans were so devoted to Svanotvit that for a long time after their baptism they did not forget his rites: — so, to gradually reassure them, they substituted St Vitus for Svanotvit on account of the similarity of the names, and they themselves took comfort in the thought that even if the people continued to perform pagan rites, they were at least doing so in honour of a Christian saint. The Illyrian Slavs still celebrate St Vitus's Day with pagan rites[26]; in Bohemia, Svantovit was worshipped as the chief deity, and they could not abandon him even in Christianity until Prince Wenceslaus obtained the relics of St Vitus from Emperor Otto and placed them for worship in place of the idols [27]. This proves that the worship of Svantovit was ancient, widespread, and the idea

of its origin from St Vitus, whose name is said to have been recorded on Rügen in the 9th century, arose much later. The name Svanovit, according to Šaffarik's interpretation, derives from the word Svanity (Swięty) 'Holy' and Vit[28]. 'Wit' was a word denoting, in general, the dignity of human nature: hence 'vityaz' (knight), 'vityazhestvo' (victory), zwycięstwo (victory), 'vitia' (eloquent, wise); it is also the root of the words: 'otvet' (answer), 'privet' (greeting), 'veschat' (to broadcast), 'veshchiy' (prophetic). And even in the languages of the Germanic tribes this meaning has been preserved: thus, in Anglo-Saxon, 'vita' means 'advisor', from which come 'vitzig' and 'vittenagemot' — 'judge', assembly of elders, and the Scandinavian vitter — sorcerer, in the Old eshun[29].

That Svanovit, Svarozhich, Radegast and Dazhbog are one and the same seems clear. Both Svanovit and Svarozhich have a horse; both Svanovit and Radegast have an earthly incarnation; all three are deities of war and prophecy; Radegast and Svanotvit are deities of industry, and each of the three is referred to as the sole supreme deity. The attributes of these deities point to their significance as a light-bearing principle, whilst the differences arose from the fact that they represented the manifestation of this principle at different moments of its activity in the heavenly and earthly incarnations. The horse of Svantovit and Radegast points to the deity's chivalrous life on earth and to his martial significance as a being of light in the struggle against darkness, and to the journey of the sun — much like the horses of Apollo. Thus the light-

worshippers, the Parsis, conceived of Mithra, who, although according to the Zend system

He was the first of the Yezids, but was generally regarded as a deity and called the invincible god who roams the Universe with a bow, a sword and a mace, striking down evil spirits—the Devas ov[30]. So too did Svanovit, the sun, ride on his horse, white as the day, to wage war against evil spirits during the night, the realm of the opposing principle, which is destroyed by the sun's rays: the sword and banners are also attributes of this ceaseless battle. The bow in his hand is reminiscent of Apollo — the sun-archer a[31]. As the god of war — a symbol of the struggle between light and darkness — he was the god of moral light, wisdom, the highest conduct, social order and civic virtue: that is why people sought prophecies from him; that is why people turned to him before the commencement of any public undertaking, and no assembly, no king, could alter the verdict emanating from the supreme light. As the sun god, he was the cause and bestower of fertility, as evidenced by the prayers to him for an abundance of earthly fruits. Hence the horn of wine in his hand, a motif found among various peoples. Thus, according to the research of Kreutzer and G ammer[32], the Parsis used a cup known as the Jamshid Cup of Peace. The Egyptians performed divinations with a libation from a cup, symbolising the service to God of the annual changes[33]. Among the Greeks, libations took place in Samothrace from a cup called the so- lntic[34]. Bacchus's cup was also offered

as a symbol of creation and fertility to the light-bearing principle [35].

Thus, from all this we may conclude that Svanovit = Radegast = Svarozhich = Dazhbog were one and the same being under several names and denoted the light-bearing force in both moral and physical terms.

There is no need to prove that one and the same deity can be called by different names. In Norse mythology, Odin has as many as 12 names anias[36]. And since we know that the Slavs worshipped light under various names, this gives us reason to seek the same concept under other mythological names as well. Thus, I believe that Perun, the foremost divine being after the Almighty God among the Rus', also signified the light-bearing principle; he is translated as Jupiter and is called the god of thunder and lightning, and therefore there is already a variation on the concept of light. However, it seems he signified not only the bringer of thunder, but light in general. Perun is an ancient deity, and the root of his name is found among many peoples: thus, among the Lithuanians, this being was called Perkūnas [37], whilst among the Goths he was known as Jair guns[38], which is similar to the Zend Peiramun, meaning 'bright, heavenly' dwelling[39]. The word 'Perun' can mean 'fire' in many languages; in Greek, Πῦρ — a word which, according to Plato , is 'she'[40], borrowed

from the Scythians; in Czech, * * *pireni*[41]. Fire served as a sacred element of the worship of Perun. Thus, *Gv* *agnini*[42] states that in Novgorod, an unquenchable fire made from oak wood burned before the statue of Perun. Among the Poles, this very deity was called both Perun and Jessen (the 'clear one') and was revered as the bestower of earthly fruits [43], in which there is an obvious similarity to Sventovit. His attribute in Silesia was Mount Sabot [44], a word in the Drakian language meaning 'rising sun'. Thus, Mount Sabot means 'Mount Sun': similarly, Sobotka is the Polish name for the pan-Slavic Midsummer festival. Perun, like Svanovit, was a god of war and peace; therefore, weapons were laid at his feet and oaths were sworn there upon the conclusion of treat [45]. In Bohemia, too, the word Jasson meant 'sun' in ancient times [46].

All this leads us to the conclusion that Perun, the supreme deity of the Russians and Poles, is the same as Svanovit, the deity of other Slavs. The name Perun, translated by the classics as Jupiter, was also known to the ancient Adriatic Slavs, for the Aquileian inscriptions contain the words Jovi Sancti Beroni tonanti, and in another, 'bono Deo Beroni'[47], which (provided the inscriptions are authentic) proves not only the antiquity of the worship of Perun, but also his significance as a god of light; for it was chiefly Apollo, the sun-god, who was called the 'good god'.

The Saxon Chronicle describes a statue that stood in Lübeck: a man wearing a crown, with elongated ears and holding red, as if red-hot, iron in his hand; he was called ‘ Prone’[48]. It seems we shall not be mistaken in regarding this name as synonymous with our Perun. The iron in his hand signifies an ordeal — a symbol of judgement. In Helmold’s Slavic Chronicle, in three places ah[49], the deity Prove is mentioned, referred to as the supreme deity of the Wagrs. He had neither a temple nor an image; the Slavs dedicated to him only an oak tree, surrounded by a fence, with a spacious area in front for the people. People would come there with a priest and offer sacrifices; there the veche would assemble, enact laws and adjudicate disputes. No one dared to enter beyond the fence, except those offering sacrifices and those fleeing from death ti[50]. Prove was thus a deity of justice; and so was Prone, as evidenced by the ordeal in his hand. All mythographers unanimously recognised them as a single being. I believe that Prone and Prove = Perun = Svanovit and other names for the light-bearing principle. The evidence is as follows: 1. Prone and Perun are clearly one and the same name, and it seems that Prone is a corrupted form of Perun. 2. Prone holds red iron in his hand; Perun, according to Gvagnini’s account, held a fiery stone in his hand. 3. The Vagri recognised Svanoviti as their supreme deity, yet Prove is named as their supreme deity. Therefore, he cannot be regarded as one of the minor deities, more distant from God

Almighty Ruler of the Spirits, but the supreme deity, apart from God—whom Helmold clearly distinguishes from Svanovit—was light.

Triglav held the same significance in Stettin; the biographer of St Otto of Bamberg called him the greatest deity of the Slavs. According to the account of Ebbon, another of Otto's biographers, he was depicted with three heads, signifying the three realms: heaven, earth and the underworld; his eyes and mouth were veiled with a gold-embroidered cloth so that he might not see and condemn human weaknesses. His temple is described as very ornate. The sanctuary housed silver and gold vessels, ox horns for drinking and for trumpets, a multitude of weapons and all manner of provisions; for the people of Štetin would give a tenth of the spoils taken in war to that place, and a Slav was obliged to bring him a gift after being saved from a storm at sea, which, according to popular belief, was stirred up by this deity. Festivals were held in honour of Triglav, featuring sacred games, dances and feasts. Near the main temple stood three buildings, called kontiny (?); there were no idols there, but benches and tables were arranged in an amphitheatre; the people gathered there for the veche and, after the assembly, concluded agreements on matters of the fatherland with a merry feast m[51]. Triglav was venerated in various parts of the Slavic world, and the reverence for him was so great that even after their baptism, the Slavs kept his images in caves[52]. His widespread presence is evidenced by local names of mountains, for example, Terglu

at Krajne[53]: it is quite possible that temples dedicated to Triglav stood there too, for Štetin was also built on three hills [54]. Dobrov skiy[55], Bandk e[56] and G anush[57] see in him the Trimurti of the Native Americans, such that the king of heaven is equivalent to Brahma, the king of the earth to Vishnu, and the king of the underworld to Shiva, the destructive deity; — all the more so as Triglav sat, and the Trimurti was depicted in a seated position; and the Trimurti also had a triangular veil over its three heads ah[58]. But since the biographer of the Otgons calls him the supreme god of the Slavs, and knowing that this was the name given to the being that signified light, we may seek the meaning of light in Triglav. We are told that he was the Trimurti of the Indians, but the Trimurti represented the solar power in the annual cycles. Many peoples of the East divided the year into three parts[59]. Such a division was also found among the Germanic peoples. It was also found among the Slavs [60], as evidenced by three folk festivals corresponding to the seasons. Agriculture, an ancient occupation of the Slavs, manifests itself in three functions: sowing, harvesting and preparation; accordingly, the three seasons are arranged: spring, summer and winter; autumn disappears from the casual observer's view, half of it belonging to summer, half to winter; in the life of nature, man perceives only the beginning, the middle and the end. Hence the division of the year into three parts. In the Triglav, one may recognise a luminous triadic force, equivalent to the three seasons: spring, summer and winter, and together to the three realms, as explains

Ebon: the sky as the source of all things, and therefore also spring; the earth as the space in which the activity of light unfolds, and consequently, necessarily, the time in which this activity takes place—summer; and the underworld—the winter of life. I am further convinced of the equivalence of Triglav with other names for light by the fact that the attributes of this deity are similar to those of Svanovit. At the temple in Szczecin, the pagans had a sacred horse (only a black one); four priests walked behind it in turn; no one mounted it. Before the start of a war, they led it through nine spears, and if it passed through without getting caught, they concluded that the enterprise would have a happy outcome. Furthermore, they performed other divinations using sticks [61]. According to the biographer's account, Triglav was a god of war, just like Svan ov[62]. Thus, it seems beyond doubt from all this that Triglav, too, represented a light-bearing principle, venerated under various names.

Belbog belongs to the same category. In the history of the Kamianka bishoprics a[63], it is stated that the Slavs recognised a benevolent principle under the name of the White God, as opposed to the evil one, known as Chernobog. In Helmold we find the account that during feasts the Slavs would pass around a cup containing blessings and incantations, believing that happiness stems from the good god, and all evil from the evil one, called in their language the devil or Chernobog. Following this, Helmold states

that the good God is Svant ovit[64]. Elsewhere in the account cited above, Kaminsk oy[65] states that the Slavs held feasts and passed the cup around on the festival of light (si quando lux festa venisset). It seems clear that Belbog and Svantovit are one and the same. The worship of Belbog was widespread. In ancient times, it was known among the Adriatic Slavs. Thus, on stones found near Aquileia, one reads: 'Belino divi, Belino Apollino'; here one can recognise Belbog; this has been translated literally into Latin as: 'Belino divi'[66]. Among the Celts, the deity of light—translated by Roman writers as Apollo—was also called Belino [67], which demonstrates the antiquity of this name among the northern peoples. Moreover, the very name 'Apollo', which has no root in the Greek language, appears to share an unambiguous etymological origin with the Celtic 'Belino' and the Slavic 'Belbog', for Apollo was brought to Greece from the north, which is why he was called 'Hyperborean'. The name Belbog corresponds to the Russian expressions 'white light' and 'white day'; hence 'white tsar', for with the colour white—the colour of visible sunlight—the worshippers of light denoted everything worthy of respect.

Knowing that so many names denoted a single light-bearing being, one can make certain conjectures regarding other mythological names. Writers who have handed down to us accounts of the Polabian and Baltic Slavs mention Yarovit, Rugivit, Porivit and Perenut. Yarovit or Gierovit, according to the biographer

Ottonova is depicted as the god of war and is called Mars. A golden shield hung beside his idol; this shield was never taken out of the temple except on important military occasions. The pagans held this object in such reverence that when the Christians sought to destroy the idol and kill the stubborn priest, the priest, striking the shield, rushed into the crowd with a terrible cry and instilled such terror in the newly converted Christians that, out of old habit, upon seeing the shield, fell to the ground [68]. We already know that the deity of light, under all his names, was also a deity of war. Yarovit, being a god of war, belonged to the designations of the luminous principle: the word 'yar' signifies both fury and courage, as well as spring, youth and freshness. It is not without reason that one may see in Yarovit the solar power manifested in spring. He is what Som or Hercules is to the Egyptians and the Greeks ov[69]. And that is why, it seems, one of Otto's biographers called him 'Hiero-vit', whilst another called him 'Vero-vit', translating the word 'yar' into the Latin 'Ve r'[70], which must have been an easy mistake to make, for these biographers had once remarked that the Slavic language bears a resemblance to Latin and took the liberty of deriving 'kontiny' from 'continere'.

In Saxo's *Grammar*, an idol called Rugievit is described in Karence. It had seven heads and seven swords, whilst the eighth, naked, held one in its hand; in height it surpassed any human form [71]. It is called the god of war and is therefore

is unambiguously identified with the earlier deities. The name Rugievit would, it seems, be more correctly read as Ruyevit (for the letter 'h' was added where the Slavs had soft consonants, as in Gierovit instead of Yarovit); it derives from ruiny = red, hot, fiery, so that the god signifies light, at the height of his activity, that which Horus, the manly, warlike son of Osiris, represents with the sun [72]; and the distinction between Yarovit and Ruyevit will be such that the former signifies spring, and the latter summer. The seven heads and seven swords signify the deity's full power and point to its Eastern origin: the seven constellations and seven principal gods in Egypt, the seven Amshispands in the Zend Avesta… finally, the God of Rain reigned on earth for seven thousand days.

Near the temple of Ruyevit stood the shrine of Porevit: his idol was unarmed en[73]; and therefore one may recognise in him a significance opposite to that of Ruyevit. Porevit was the winter sun, having lost its striking power, a deity of peace. (Harpocrates, son of Osiris among the Egyptians and Greeks ov)[74], all the more so as a festival was held in winter which, in a certain sense, mythographers rightly called the festival of peace.

Next to the temple of Porevit stood the temple of Porenut. Narushevich interprets this word as deriving from poronić[75] 'to give birth', and believes that it was a symbol of the power of birth. This, in my opinion, is well-founded. The idol was depicted with four heads, and held a fifth to his chest, with one hand grasping its beard,

and the other by the forehead[76]. Among the Slavs, as among other peoples, there was a concept of the annual birth of the sun — marking the transition to summer — and therefore the four-headed Porenut (and thus already similar to Svanovit) seems to have depicted the sun at the moment of its return to activity after its winter slumber. Four heads were a constant attribute of the sun in general, whilst the fifth on the chest signified the birth of a new sun. — The names Lada and Zhivago also belong to the same category of light-bearing deities. According to Stryjkovskij's o[77], the deity Lada was celebrated in spring from 23 May to 24 June. Of all the pagan divine names, only the name Lada has survived so vividly among the people that a rare spring ritual song will do without the refrain: Lado! Lado! According to Kromer, Gvagnini, Velsky and the Gustyn inventory of [78], Lado or Ladon signifies the god of all pleasure and prosperity: hence, those getting married offered sacrifices to him; family happiness depended on his blessing; and people turned to him at the birth of a child. From the songs we see beyond doubt that Lad was the deity of spring and love. The word Lad is clearly Slavic and signifies harmony, beauty and love. The word ladnost means beauty; in Czech, lada means 'beauty'; in Polish and South Russian, ladny means 'beautiful'; among the Russians, lad and lada mean 'husband' and 'wife'. But since Lad was a deity of love and harmony and at the same time a deity of spring, he was therefore a deity of the harmony of the universe, of

, and a symbol of the all-pervading, life-giving spring sun; and a festival was held in his honour during the season of nature's beauty, at a time when sexual arousal is particularly strong among animals. Długosz refers to him as the deity of ' oyny'[79]; thus, the warlike significance of light was inseparable from all forms of his worship.

The deity Zhiv or Zhivyi was unambiguously associated with the deity Lada; Długosz referred to him as the deity of life. Prokosha's chronicle relates that on Mount Zhivtsa, named after the deity, a temple was built, and crowds of people gathered there in the spring during the first days of May; there they prayed for happiness and prosperity throughout the year. According to the pagans, Zhiv was the deity of prosperity, the supreme ruler of the universe (supremum universi moderatorem) and the deity of beauty and spring. The Slavs, according to the same chronicle, believed that the deity Zhivoy transformed into a cuckoo in spring, so that through this bird he might herald the season and the length of people's lives; and for this reason they offered sacrifices to him in particular when they first heard the cuckoo's call in spring, asking: how many years each person would live, and determined the number of years to come by how many times the bird cuckooed after the question.

This spring worship of Lada and Zhivoy proves that they are one deity, and both names refer to the light-bearing principle in the sense of universal love and the life of nature. Along with these names, the Slavs honoured a female being called

Lada and Zhivaya: just as the ancient Pelasgians had a male being *(ЂЎЉNoгąNoб)*, the giver of life and fertility, and a female one *(ЂЎџNoгSąЂ)*.

In an ancient South Russian fairy tale, which apparently dates back to the distant days of paganism, I came across the following: Ivas (as the hero was called) was ordered by the master he served to find out why the sun changes three times a day. He travelled to the other world, to the sun's palace above the sea; the sun had been away for a long time, travelling across the world; Ivas found the sun's mother, who, having learnt why he had come, ordered him to sit at an iron trough. When the sun returned in the evening, the mother asked him: why does it change three times a day? 'There is,' replied the sun, 'a beautiful Anastasia in the sea: when I rise, she sprinkles water on me—I grow cold and blush; but when I rise high and look out over the whole world, I feel cheerful; and when I set, Anastasia will splash me with sea water again, and I will blush once more. From this it is clear that the Sun had a mother, and also a woman who held him as a lover.

We find in Helmold that the Slavs had a goddess named Siva or Zhiva. In Vacerad's *Mater verborum* we encounter the same goddess, rendered as Ceres; she is depicted holding an ear of corn and a flower. In another depiction, she is shown with an infant on her head and a grape or an apple. We know that the Finnish peoples had a deity

Golden Baba with a baby in her arms. This name is undoubtedly not Finnish, and the deity was borrowed from the Slavs. How widespread the veneration of such a female figure was among us in pagan times is evident from the fact that in many places one still comes across crude statues and images of a woman with a baby. That there is a close connection between the Golden Woman and Zhiva is evident not only from the fact that they are both depicted with infants: Długosz clearly points to their unity, stating that there was a mountain called Baka, on which stood the town of Zhivets; and we know that Zhivets was the name given to the place where Zhiva was worshipped. But Lada is also synonymous with Zhiva, for the spring festival of Lada was also the festival of Zhiva; the very names Zhiva and Lada express the same thing; and finally, in songs the epithet for Lada is 'mother', whilst among the Lithuanians Lada was called Zolotaya Paneya, which is identical to Zolotaya Baba. Her festival, among both the Lithuanians and the Russians, was combined with the celebration of the sun. Vacerad calls her Venus. The Czechs also called her Krasopani — and Krasyna: this is the name of the statue of the goddess erected by St Ludmila during the pagan era. In my opinion, she symbolised nature and the life-giving principle; she was the mother of the sun in its incarnation, the goddess of love, harmony, marriage, joy, beauty and all prosperity, the mother and nurturer of the world, the bestower of blessings. It is she whom the sorceress in Bohemia calls Ceres, the mother of Mars, whereas the classical Ceres was not the mother of Mars. The infant on her head signified embodied light, and the apple in her hand

was surely that very egg laid by Leto from which Apollo and Diana were formed, and at the same time that egg, the beginning of all things, which the Indians revered. — This symbolic female being is found in almost all mythologies, and under different names in each: — Lada was the same as the Indians' Bhavani, the primordial feminine force that conceived the seed of creation, and Lakshmi, who was worshipped in the image of a woman with a baby on the Coromandel Coast: and this baby was light incarnate. Among the Egyptians she was Isis; — among the Phrygians, and later the Romans, she was Cybele, the mother goddess: there, the festival of Megalesia was held in her honour in the spring; she was long venerated in Rome in the form of a woman with a child, symbolising the incarnate deity: later, people sought to see in this image a foreshadowing of the Saviour; — among the Assyrians, she was Militta, the mother who inspires and brings forth creation; — among the Greeks, whose worship of light was more fragmented into individual deities than that of other peoples, she can be seen in Hera, mother of the gods; in Aphrodite, the power of love; in Minerva of Samos, mother of the sun; and especially in Leto, mother of Apollo, the god of light, whose very name sounds similar to that of our goddess: The Greeks received her from the dark Hyperborean north and originally venerated her under the name of Ilithyia in Ephesus, in the image of the mother of the universe, the first mother; — among the Prussians she was called Ji-za, i.e. adopted from the Slavs, with whom the Prussians were in close religious contact, Jiva; — among the Scandinavians, she

was Phrygia, also borrowed from the Slavs, for she was called Kandal: the Illyrian Slavs honoured Lada under the name of Good Phrygia. How widespread the worship of Lada was among the Slavs is evident from the fact that, firstly, among all purely Slavic peoples, her name has remained in songs, and secondly, numerous sacred sites are named after her. In Długosz's account, she is identified as Venus—Dzidzilia—and interpreted as the goddess of childbirth, for women in labour would turn to her; in Strikowski's account, Zizilia, to whom prayers were offered for love and fertility, is also identified as Venus. I believe that she was also what we call Mother Earth; and it was she whom the northern Germanic peoples (by which we must presumably also mean some of the Slavs) worshipped under the name of Hertha (die Erde), which is synonymous with the Roman 'mater tellus'. Just as Latona was the mother of a male and a female deity: Apollo and Diana, so too was Lada the Slavic mother of Lel and Leli (Lilith, Palilia of classical mythology). Although these names are found particularly in Lithuanian mythology, there is no doubt that they were present among the Slavs; for historians mention them, and in our songs there is a refrain: Lelyu – Lado. 'Le' – 'lis' in Lithuanian means 'bright'; but it means the same in Slavic as well: proof of this is the verb 'lelet' in Little Russian and the vernacular Russian language, meaning: to shine, to sparkle. These two twins were the special object of worship among the peoples of Lygia, where, according to Tacitus, the priest who offered sacrifices to them would dress in both male and female attire at once:

a similar custom has survived in the folk games of Great Russia, and proves that these two beings—one masculine, the other feminine—were, in the highest inner understanding, one and the same. Thus, among the Indians, the embodied world was represented in the form of a hermaphroditic deity. Similarly, among the Greeks, Dionysus, the personification of the sun, was depicted as hermaphroditic *(ЂаџSЃNoJЇ"Noб)*. The Egyptians also venerated a light-bearing being in the same way, as evidenced by their religious ceremonies. This hermaphroditic being expressed:

primordial nature — when it had not yet manifested itself in opposites — and final, absolute nature, the result of the process of world life.

Creature of two sexes — a two-bodied being in Slavic terms — soon appeared in the form of separate male and female. The male is the light: Svanovit — Krishna — Vishnu — Soziash — Osiris — Apollo — Dionysus — Attis; the feminine is water. — In all religions water represents passive primordial form of the feminine being, from which, through the fruitful touch of the masculine being, all things came into being. In India, this being is Shakti; the very in its soulless and cold, it is depicted as moisture; hence the sacred river Ganges bears the name Shakti. It receives from the masculine principle — fire, Shiva — and brings forth life. According to Zoroastrian doctrine, Zervan-Akerene created through his word (Gonover) — the archetype of matter, the primordial Ormuzd, in which the principles of light and water

and formation creation first

through division, and then through the interplay of opposites. Among the Semitic peoples, water was regarded as the passive, feminine, fundamental element of creation. In Egypt, water was considered a passive, feminine entity and was symbolised by Isis, awakened to fertility by fire—light. In Greece, the ocean was at the beginning of all things, and according to the teachings of Orpheus, creation arose from water when it was aroused by union with a deity in the form of a serpent, called Heracles, i.e. Hercules: this signified a light-bearing force. The same concept is found in biblical teaching; water was created first and remained invisible and formless until God said, 'Let there be light,' and then the still, cold, feminine matter began to come to life and bear fruit. According to the Scandinavian conception, creation arose from the opposites of light or fire, and water, or cold. Slavic cosmogony has left us no systematic doctrine, yet there are traces of the same concept, for example, in the following Red Ruthenian song:

Once upon a time, at the beginning

of the world, There was neither

heaven nor earth; Neither heaven

nor earth—only the blue sea.

It then goes on to describe how two doves—symbols of the dual creative force, of love—fly down and bring about creation, drawing its elements from the abyss. — The passive nature of water in the natural world led people to see in it a feminine being. Without the life-giving power of light, motionless

water fills the space in the form of snow, ice, a lifeless mass; but when light and warmth awaken it, it spreads out and, under the influence of light, gives birth to and nourishes the world of the year. And it was on this very inner basis that the Slavs, as worshippers of light, revered water. Strabo also mentions the inhabitants of south-western Russia, stating that they worshipped rivers and springs, and that one river was named after the deity *Boycuvov.* Procopius of Caesarea states that the Slavs recognised the One God, but worshipped rivers and springs. The Baltic Slavs had sacred springs to which they went to worship; one such spring was located on the island of Rügen in a dense forest. In Szczecin there was a spring to which people flocked for worship. In other parts of Western Slavic territory there were similar springs, which non-believers were forbidden to approach. Ditmar speaks of Lake Glomazi, which was revered with fear by the neighbouring Slavs. The same writer states that the Pomeranians revered the sea, and the Christian missionary Reinbern, to consecrate the element defiled by demonic worship, cast four stones smeared with holy oil into it. Cosmas of Prague mentions the Czechs, noting that in their paganism they worshipped springs and rivers and offered sacrifices to them. The Poles, in their pagan days, as is evident from many sources, had sacred waters, a fact attested to by numerous superstitious customs among the people. Among the Russian Slavs, a clear worship of water is evident. The Life of Prince Constantine of Murom states that Russian pagans offered sacrifices to lakes and rivers, resorted

to the water in times of need and cast coins into wells. In the 11th-century translation of Gregory the Theologian, the translator deemed it necessary to add of his own accord: 'It happens that some offer sacrifices at a spring, seeking rain and forgetting that rain comes from the sky, whilst others call a river a god.' Prince Vladimir's ecclesiastical code forbids praying by the water. Bathing is considered an essential part of many superstitious rites and folk festivals. In Russian songs, water always plays an important role as a favourite subject of poetry. Thus, it seems beyond the slightest doubt that the Slavs worshipped water in their paganism. — This was certainly to be expected, for in all religions where the idea of light worship exists, water was also revered as the second sacred entity. The followers of Zoroaster worshipped water, recognised it as the holiest substance after light, the living sap of nature; they performed sacred ablutions, used it in sacrifices, and addressed canonical prayers to it. The Indians worshipped water, and especially the sacred Ganges, to the point of fanaticism. The Egyptians honoured water under the symbol of Isis and regarded it as the source of life; hence a vessel of cold water symbolised the resurrecting power of Osiris, life-giving to the dead. The Greeks had several sacred springs, recognised in the sea a miraculous power to deliver man from every evil, practised sacred purification, regarded the consecration of water as the most important act in the sacraments, and divined the future from water. From water was born

Aphrodite, universal love and harmony. The water element was symbolised by Diana. I believe it would not be far-fetched if, in Anastasia, splashing about in the sun, in a fairy tale, we were to see the personification of water, the consort of the sun-light. The marital union of light and water was the archetype of creation, of love in the universe, of life in nature, and of the sexual union of creatures. Of course, the name Anastasia does not date back to antiquity, but this mythological being had more than one proper name; just as the sun-god had many names. It has, however, been preserved in certain names, such as Morana, i.e. 'of the sea' or 'maritime'. On the festival of Kupala, a scarecrow called Morena is made; people leap over a fire with it and then drown it in water: in my view, this symbolises the marriage of light and water. A name similar to this is Marjana, found in Długosz; an effigy so named was drowned in Poland in the spring: a pan-Slavic rite; it still exists in Russian villages to this day. In the Kralodvorsky manuscript, Morena is depicted as the goddess of death, leading the souls of the slain into the black night, whilst in Długosz Morjana is named Ceres. She was both; for water, by its very nature, embodies the principle of life and the principle of death and dissolution; it is a force that both gives life and takes it away; cold and dark in itself, it is brought to life and made fertile only by the light of fire. Thus Diana or Artemis—a benevolent, luminous, beautiful deity—is at the same time Hecate—a gloomy, deadly, black, and lethal being. The word 'mara' (ghost) shares a common root with the name

Marzhany, water at the most perilous moment of its existence, signifies that which does not exist, that which is illusory—an image devoid of substance, the antithesis of the world, 'vital, luminous, in motion and activity'. In Kraina, the water creature is still called by the mythical names of Vodan and Moran. Mokosh in Nestor, in my opinion, also signifies a female water creature; the ending -osh is feminine, like kokosh, and the root of the word is Mok (to get wet, to soak). This is Kollar's view. According to Vacerad, the sea was revered by the Slavs as a deity called Hlipa. But the most important names for a female water spirit among the Slavs were Devonia, Dzevanna and Dana. It derives from a root preserved in the Celtic languages, where Divona means river and water; but this root is not foreign to the Slavic peoples either, as shown by the names of rivers: Dvina, Danube, Don, Dnieper (Danapris Dana — stris), and the common refrain in ritual songs: dana, dana. Like water, the source of all things, eternally beautiful, eternally fresh, she was both a maiden and a wife, that is, the consort of the sun. This is how Długosz describes her. In Bohemia and Poland she was called Devonia or Dzevanna; among the Baltic Slavs, Deva; and her temple stood in a town named Devin-grad, renamed Magdeburg by the Germans. In Hungary there was a similar Devin-grad, named after the goddess; in our region, she probably had, apart from Mokosh, the name Dana, and simply Deva, as indicated by certain localities and names of bodies of water, e.g., Devi Mountains, Devichye Field, and the Devitsa River. She was entirely identical to the Greek Diana or Artemis. Diana of Ephesus

was originally a water spirit and was therefore equivalent to Isis, understood in the sense of an element. Diana's association with the moon stemmed more from the influence the moon was believed to have on water: among the Slavs, she may not have had this association, for the moon is depicted as a man in our tradition. But our Devonia, like Marzanna, is identical with Hecate — the harsh, dark goddess of darkness, cold and non-existence. As an earth goddess and huntress, the Greek goddess also shares a connection with our own: for Długosz and Waceraad explicitly translate her name as Diana. According to Grimm, there is still a belief in Lusatia about a beautiful maiden who roams the forests with her dogs and frightens the beasts, especially on moonlit nights. Superstitious people are afraid to venture into the thicket even at midday, lest they encounter the maiden. I have heard exactly such a belief in Russia as well; various anecdotes are told about this maiden, for example, once some reapers were having supper when suddenly a maiden with dogs ran up to them, leapt over the fire where the food was cooking, and frightened both the people and the animals.

Thus, the myth of Diana found full expression among the Slavs; a maiden and a wife among the Slavs, Diana likewise among the Greeks, for by Diana they meant not only the maiden Artemis, but also Artemis—the mother who gave birth to love. Or rather, the Greeks and Romans venerated Diana in such diverse mythical narratives that the notion of several Dianas arose. The original Diana of Ephesus, or Artemis, represented water as the generative principle

of creation — and was venerated both as a maiden and as the universal mother: this goddess was borrowed by the Greeks from Scythia, together with Apollo and Leto or Ilithyia from the land of the Hyperboreans, and it was only later that Greek poetry complicated and diversified the simple myth of the north. So this explains the close resemblance to our Slavic concepts! I shall not go so far as to claim that the Greeks borrowed it from the Slavs, but I consider it necessary to note that the names: Ilitia, Leto, Apollo and Diana also resonate with our own: Lada, the White God, Lel, Devana; and how similar the history of these mythological beings among the Slavs is to that of the Greeks, provided that we, setting aside all that has been invented and added over the centuries, seek its original form. Thus, the legend of the Amazons—whom the Greeks' imagination placed on the shores of the Meotida and at the foot of the Caucasus, the homeland of Diana—a legend linked to the history of this goddess, found expression in a poetic and fable-like account of a war between maidens and men, preserved in Czech chronicles. — Thus, from this chaos of names, which usually denoted several separate gods, with the addition of fictitious ones whose names the pagan Slavs had never heard of, it follows that the Slavs recognised a single Almighty God, the Creator and Father of creation, who, through His all-wise, all-creating love—Lada—originally created existence. This existence encompassed the opposition of masculine and feminine nature; the former was expressed as light and spirit, the latter as matter and watery fluid: through the harmonious union of these beings, the invisible

and the visible. This belief found expression in the myth of the two Pelasgian Kavirs. Light—the Spirit—emanating from God is the image of the supreme being, the son of the deity, and is therefore worthy of worship. And since this being manifests its creativity and wisdom in the governance of the world—received from God—through the diversity of phenomena in both the spiritual and physical worlds, worship of it took various forms. Svantovich, Radegast, Triglav, Svarozhich; Yarovit, Ruyevit, Porevit, Porenut, Perun, Yasny, Zhivoy, Lad, Lel, Dazhbog, Belbog, Khore, Prove — all these are nothing more than names for one and the same luminous-spiritual being, the son of God. Despite the differences in the depictions associated with these names—differences which merely denote various aspects of the being's nature—Slavic mythology had not yet descended into polytheism; each name of a deity was not associated exclusively with any one of its qualities, to the exclusion of others; on the contrary, each fully expressed everything attributed to the deity. All these so-called gods meant one and the same thing; people turned to each of them with prayers for happiness; from each they sought the answer of heavenly wisdom; divinations were performed before all of them and identical sacrifices were offered; each was the patron of fertility, public and family happiness, and war; hence, to writers who did not understand the meaning of religion but happened to guess correctly, each was the highest, most important deity, at a time when these very

writers themselves admit that the Slavs recognised a single God.

Opposed to this luminous, life-giving, benevolent being was a dark, deadly, malevolent one, which, according to Helmold, was called Chernobog, from which the name 'chert' derives. In Wacerad's *Mater verborum* he is called the enemy. Helmold says that he was also called the devil in Slavic. Indeed, the Slavs had an evil being called Div, a name so similar to the Divs of Zoroastrian doctrine. Thus, in *The Tale of Igor's Campaign*, it is said: 'Div cries out from the top of the tree', thereby signifying a portent of danger; whilst elsewhere, the Polovtsian raid and the calamity that befell southern Rus' are described as: 'Div throws himself to the ground'. Nowhere is it explicitly stated whether this creature was the source of evil or a fallen angel; but, seeing no traces of dualism in Slavic concepts, finding none of it in the north at all, doubting its existence in Persia as well, and relying on the fact that the Slavs recognised a single supreme source of life, I conclude that the Slavic devil was just as much a fallen angel as the Scandinavians' Loki. On the statuette found by Kollar in Bamberg, he is depicted, according to scholars' interpretation, as a lion (though it is strange why a lion might have been known to the Slavs: perhaps it is a dog, not a lion). Folk imagination depicts him as a serpent. Since in fairy tales bearing the moral imprint of antiquity, the evil principle predominantly appears in the form of a serpent, it is likely that the serpentine image has been a symbol of the evil

creature. This serpent is depicted in the popular imagination as dark, yet emitting sparks: — the Slavs likely had a concept of two fires: one was life-giving, inseparable from light; the other was destructive, born of darkness. Perhaps it was this destructive fire that was symbolised in the temple of Niya in Gniezno, as Długosz states, referring to this Niya as Pluto.

Within this source of evil lies the origin of light, truth and goodness, and it is in this struggle that life manifests itself in both the physical and moral realms. In the physical realm, this struggle is expressed through the opposition of life and death in living beings and the opposition of the seasons: summer and winter. Nature grows, blossoms and bears fruit—this is the realm of Svanovit; nature freezes, phenomena perish: this is the power of the opposing principle. Light and warmth are portrayed as struggling against darkness and cold. The same holds true in the moral world: good in the human world struggles against evil. The deity of spiritual light, truth and goodness appears amongst the human race, takes on human form, teaches the mortal race the truth, battles the enemy who prevents man from attaining bliss, is defeated, but ultimately rises up and triumphs. This principle lies at the heart of almost all human beliefs. — In the Zend-Avesta, the source of light, Ormuzd, battles with Agriman, the idol of darkness and evil; he defeats him, employs peaceful means to convert him, but Agriman persists; Ormuzd imprisons him — Agriman is released, tempts

mankind, and overpowers Ormuzd; an alternating reign of good and evil begins; finally, Soziash, the son of a virgin, an incarnate spiritual and luminous being, defeats Agriman, resurrects the dead, creates a new heaven and a new earth, judges the world, and establishes the triumph of good and truth for ever. — In Indian doctrine, the god Vishnu, a symbol of light, incarnates on earth several times, and his final incarnation will be an eternal triumph. In Egyptian mythology, Osiris, the supreme light, the archetype of annual cycles and human wisdom, comes to earth in human form, bestows blessings upon the human race, and then, before returning to heaven, is slain by Typhon, his brother who has turned away from goodness; he is buried, and then returns to life: he remains venerated by the people as an incarnate, suffering and triumphant deity. The Egyptians celebrated this event annually in spring with great festivity: it began with weeping and ended in joy, the narrative expressing Isis's discovery of Osiris; at the same time, the killing and burial of the deity were dramatically re-enacted. The same concept was also expressed in the mythical story of Soma-Heracles, who was consumed by flames and returned to his heavenly abode. Among the Greeks, in whose culture diverse beliefs from all corners of the world had intermingled and been transformed, this idea of the incarnation, suffering and triumph of a luminous being was expressed through several figures. The humble sojourn on earth of the supreme being is depicted in the story of Apollo, who, for purification, tends flocks, and then returns

to his luminous abode. This idea is presented more fully in the myth of Dionysus, the incarnate sun, the soul of the world, the liberator, enlightener and comforter of the mortal race, the fruitful spirit, the hero of goodness and light—as he wandered upon the earth, he taught people, vanquished evil, was slain, and subsequently became the ruler of the world. His ultimate triumph was expressed in various ways in mythology: according to some accounts, his recovered reproductive organs remain, as it were, a pledge of endless life in nature; in others, he, under the name of Zagreus, was slain by the Titans, but Minerva brought his still-warm heart to Zeus, and he recreated a new Dionysus from it. The same myth is found in the story of Heracles, who wanders the earth performing wondrous feats, descends into the underworld, is slain, and is then accepted into the ranks of the gods in heaven, where he unites with the eternally beautiful Hecate and embodies the solar year in nature. But this idea found its clearest expression among the Greeks and in the East in the worship of Adonis, who, according to Macrobius's interpretation, symbolised the sun for the peoples of the East. The Greeks celebrated the festival of Adonis for two days in spring: on the first day they carried an image of Adonis, sang mournful songs, played the flute in a sorrowful manner, and offered a funeral sacrifice: the Cathedra. In Alexandria at that time, they fashioned a likeness of a dead man, carried it on a stretcher and placed it on a colossal catafalque. The same festival was celebrated by the Phoenicians, as the prophet Ezekiel attests when he mentions women weeping for Phamus. This festival was held in Byblos, Antioch,

Babylon and, finally, in Persia, where Adonis was called Abobas. Everywhere it was divided into two parts: in the first, Adonis was mourned and buried; the second was called the celebration of the resurrection or the finding of Adonis and was accompanied by boisterous, joyful shouts and orgies. Adonis symbolised the sun. His death signified winter, which was depicted in the form of a boar that struck Adonis; his resurrection signified spring. The Romans celebrated the death and burial of Attis in the same manner in spring, followed by his return to life. Among the Scandinavians, this myth found expression in the poetic tale of Baldur. Baldur—a symbol of the sun, the northern Apollo, son of Frigg—was invincible, more beautiful than all the gods, and the most feared by the evil Loki. Loki, however, by cunning found a way to kill him. All the gods mourned Baldur and sent a delegation to Hel in the underworld to plead for his return. Hel replied that this could only happen when all creation wept for him. Indeed, all creatures wept for Balder, but Loki transformed himself into an old woman and refused under any circumstances to mourn him. Because of this, Balder remained in the underworld; but, at the end of the world, he will rise again, strike down Loki and bring forth a new earth; then the triumph of justice will come. The Slavs had a similar concept. And now — in some places at the beginning of spring, in others in June (just as Adonis was celebrated sometimes in March, sometimes in June) — a now obscure belief is expressed in folk rituals. They make a scarecrow, mockingly called Kostrunko in Ukraine, lay it on the ground, sing

sad songs over it, then bury it, and always conclude the ritual with cheerful songs and boisterous joy. In other places, after the ritual, this effigy is carried in a procession, adorned with flowers and ribbons, and drowned in water, just as the effigy of Adonis was drowned in Alexandria, according to Theocritus; this signifies the final triumph: the marriage of light and water.

Thus, we see here a universal concept of the personification of solar power: death and resurrection in the physical world mark the annual cycle—summer and winter—whilst in the moral world they signify the incarnation of a deity on earth, acts of benevolence, suffering and triumph. This idea is expressed in the incarnations of Vishnu, Osiris, Dionysus, Attis, Sosias, Baldur, and our own pagan deity, under various names but with a single meaning. Helmold states that Radegast was a hero who wandered the earth, perished in battle, and subsequently became a deity. Indeed, the Slavs believed in his resurrection or transition to a higher life as a being that was both divine and human, for Svanovit, according to their understanding, rode his horse and fought against enemies. We know for certain that, according to the concept of the pagan Slavs, a god could appear to people in human form, clad in white, luminous garments, the symbol of which was the sacred vestments of priests during worship. This same concept of the temporary victory of darkness over light and its subsequent triumph is linked to the superstition concerning the 'devouring' of the sun: our ancestors, who had not yet freed themselves from superstitions,

believed that a serpent devoured the sun, and that afterwards it rose again and defeated the enemy: this is how the 'ignorant', as dissatisfied chroniclers call our people, interpreted an eclipse.

This idea of the incarnation, suffering and triumph of a divine being on earth was a marvellous foreshadowing of the coming of the Son of God, the sun of righteousness, the light of truth, and serves as the greatest historical confirmation of the truth of our Holy Scripture. This was an idea implanted by the Creator in the human race: whatever religion a person might create for themselves, they were bound to manifest in it that principle with which they themselves came into the world; to sever from them the idea of the Incarnation of the Deity would be as difficult as to eradicate faith in their own soul. Insidious minds have more than once sought to prove the falsity of the story of Jesus Christ by pointing to its apparent resemblance to the beliefs of various peoples; they have repeatedly cited Sosias, Adonis and Apollo as prototypes of the God-Man; but all their arguments can serve only as a greater confirmation and strengthening of that which they seek to overthrow. In all mythologies, however distorted they may be by human speculation and fantasy, there lie hidden truths, revealed from on high in the deepest antiquity of mankind's infancy. Although the Jews preserved them in their purest form, other peoples have not lost them entirely, for all, according to the wise design of Providence, were to become partakers of salvation. Christ died for all and was therefore the hope of all nations.

In their wandering images, the nations sought Him; He, according to the Holy Scriptures, was in the world, but the world did not know Him, and when there were those who knew Him, when, like the veil torn in the temple at the moment of His death, the dark phantoms and symbols fell before His light, His Church stands upon such a firm rock of truth, clear to all, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it for ever.

The entire universe, enlivened by the light of fire, the spirit of beauty, harmony and reason, the son of red love—Lada, the great Lada. The White, Good God, the holy warrior, the friend of man, united in fruitful love with the beautiful Devana, is the scene of his struggle with the gloomy Chernobog. Everything on earth is animated by spirits who aid either the good or the evil principle. Helmold speaks clearly of this. The Slavs attributed spirits both to human moral qualities and to physical objects: some were good, others were fallen. This is entirely consistent with the teachings of the Zend-Avesta concerning the Izeds. Among the Slavs, they were known as the gods of the wind, water, forest, fields and earth.

The sun, the moon, the stars and all celestial phenomena were depicted as personified beings. The moon was the spouse of the star, his companion: in our wedding songs, the kind moon is urged to call upon his beloved star to rise together, to illuminate the fields and the sea, and to bring joy to the beasts in the forest and the traveller on the road. In the constellation Ursa Major, the people see horses, likely Svantovit. The black dog is the personification of Chernobog; every night

it seeks to gnaw through the harness to destroy the entire fabric of creation, but fails to do so, for before dawn it runs off to drink from the spring, and in the meantime the harness grows back together. In the constellation of Orion, farmers see a plough, a symbol of citizenship, which, according to an ancient Scythian belief, fell from the sky. The rainbow is a shining yoke with which the heavenly queen — formerly Zhiva-Lada, and now the Mother of True Light — draws life-giving water from the holy universal spring and waters the fields. Thunder comes from Gromovnik, transformed from Perun into St. Elijah. The Slavs personified the air under the name of the spirit Pogoda or Dogoda; they revered the wind as a spirit blowing from a deity, calling it Staribog and Pokhvist: this demon is ready to do as much good as harm to people, not out of malice, but out of youthful caprice. A malicious wind was called a whirlwind and was said to originate from Chernobog. It is also known as Kulla. It could blind a person and blow them away; and many legends have survived to this day about people being harmed by such a malicious wind. Fiery meteors were also considered malevolent phenomena and were called 'snakes' and 'smoks'. Shooting stars were revered as the souls—the feruans—of people, and their fall signified death.

Water was inhabited by creatures that served either the good or the evil principle: although water was sacred in itself, the evil being sent its minions into it to poison human happiness. However, it is now difficult to discern what formerly belonged to Lada and what to Chernobog; for the most part, all such creatures

are regarded as dangerous to humans; but this came about only after the adoption of Christianity, when religious teachers portrayed false deities as demons; — despite this, the old beliefs still break through the borrowed concept even now.

Among the creatures inhabiting the water are, first of all, the rusalkas. Just how significant these creatures were to the Slavs is evident from the fact that not only the memory of them but even the belief in their existence was always preserved; and even the most austere chroniclers were compelled to call the week set aside for the celebration of these nymphs 'Rusalky Week'. The root of the word 'mermaid' lies in the Celtic language, where 'Rus' means water; but how this word was adopted in our language is evident from the multitude of river names, e.g. the Rus in the Novgorod Governorate, the Ross, which flows into the Narva, the Ros in the Kiev Governorate, the Rusilovka in the Poltava Governorate; and finally, in our language there is the word 'ruslo', meaning the middle of a river. 'Rusalka' means an inhabitant of the riverbed — of the water. These are the very nymphs mentioned by Procopius. Living constantly in the water, on the festival of Lada in spring, when all of nature celebrated the resurrection and return of Adonis-Svantovit, they would emerge from the water and dance in circles in the meadows, forests and fields. Contemporary beliefs depict them as capricious, playful creatures: they swing from the trees, scratch themselves in the moonlight; but sometimes they attack people and tickle them to death: this, however, is more a matter of mischief. Mermaids are light, almost

incorporeal, neither good nor evil; they are as though objects of the physical world embodied in human form, yet whilst retaining a human figure, they have also retained the unconsciousness and indifference of matter. Sacrifices were offered to them: Procopius and Cosmas of Prague speak of this; in our country, until quite recently, the custom of scattering towels on trees as 'shirts' for the mermaids persisted, whilst in Ukraine people place hot bread on windowsills, believing that the mermaids feed on the steam rising from it. They were probably companions of Devona, and are therefore depicted as amphibious creatures; for folk superstitions place them in fields and forests under the name of 'mavkas'. The sea maidens belong to the same category. Among the evil water creatures were the topelts and uheholy, or sirens, among the Czechs; among the Russians, the water spirits and marsh spirits, who capsize boats, lure people to their doom, burst dams, and break mills. The marsh is regarded as the dwelling-place of evil creatures, whilst clear water is that of the good.

Among the fantastical land-dwelling creatures were the 'vily', about whom beliefs have survived amongst the Serbs. The vila is depicted as a beautiful maiden, yet at the same time warlike. They often do harm to people, are appeased by blood sacrifices, as seen in the beautiful song about Zidanje Skadra; in Bojan, they form a brotherhood with the heroes and help them in wars. These are Amazons, companions of Artemis. Among the Czechs, such maidens are called poludnice. In Russia, according to Herberstein, people

in the old days in some sort of noonday spirits, about whom a tradition has been preserved in incantations. A dark legend has also been preserved in Russia concerning some sort of bareheaded maidens.

Among the forest deities are Svyatibor, the Russian leshy—depicted as one-eyed—and the giant vyrviduby. Forests were objects of special worship among our pagan ancestors, for all worshippers of light honoured plants as a manifestation of the annual activity of the light-bearing principle. Thus, Dionysus was both the god of flowers and of herbs. In Persia, forests were revered with particular devotion. Zoroastrianism included a doctrine of the sacred tree of life, called Gom. This tree plays an important role there in the creation of the world, exudes living (life-giving and healing among the Slavs) water, and Bun-Degesh recognises it as essential in the great act of resurrection. The Slavs had something similar, for in a song describing the miraculous creation of the world, it is said that before the earth and the heavens were created, two oak trees stood in the midst of the primordial liquid mass. Such a tree is called Yggdrasil, or the World Tree, by the Scandinavians: the gods gathered there to deliberate on the creation of the world. We have much purely historical evidence regarding the Slavs' worship of trees. Procopius states that the Slavs had sacred groves and worshipped ancient trees. In Stettin, a large, gnarled oak grew above a spring: this oak was considered the dwelling place of a deity. Sacred groves served as temples, and one such grove is described

by Helmold. From the Kralodvorsky manuscript we learn that the Czechs had protected groves where idols were located, and the trees themselves were revered as sacred. Ibn Fozlan reports on the Rus' worship of trees, which amounted to crude fetishism. Constantine Porphyrogenitus states that the Rus' people made sacrifices beneath trees. The Life of Prince Constantine mentions that the pagan Rus' people worshipped hollow trees, hanging ornaments upon them. Prince Vladimir's Statute forbids praying in groves. Judging by the remnants of our mythology in songs, it seems that few peoples have so vividly brought to life and symbolised the natural world of plants: trees and grasses often speak both amongst themselves and with birds and people, and have symbolic significance for humankind. It would be out of place here to expound on folk symbolism: such a task is left to ethnographers and archaeologists.

The Slavs revered oaks, especially old ones, as sacred trees; the ash tree, it must be assumed, was dedicated to Perun, as indicated by the similarity of this word to the name of the deity given by Długosz. The maple and the linden were symbolised—as is evident from the songs—as a married couple; the maple possessed a mysterious, beneficent power; this tree is used particularly during folk festivals in Great Russia. The maple leaf had magical healing properties. Sacrifices were performed beneath the lime trees. The hazel, according to Otto's biographer, was also a sacred tree. The birch symbolised

pure Mother Nature. As for herbs, although many now hold either symbolic or magical significance for the people, it is difficult to ascertain which of them meant what in pagan times.

Birds held symbolic significance for the Slavs. Mythological concepts were predominantly associated with the cuckoo, doves, swallows and crows. The cuckoo is depicted as a harbinger of the future, imbued with a mysterious meaning. One Ukrainian song states that there is nothing in the world like the grey cuckoo. This is explained by the legend of Prokosh, according to which the Living One is transformed into this bird. The dove is a symbol of love among all Slavs, and that is why one Carpathian song attributes the creation of the world to two doves, that is, the male and female primordial beings. This concept is common to mythology, for, according to Syrian mythology, doves hatched an egg from which the goddess Derketo-Aphrodite emerged. Similarly, in Greek mythology, the origins of the Dodonian oracle are attributed to two doves that flew there, and ever since then doves have served as symbols of life, sustenance and chastity at the temple. Among the ancient Slavs, the swallow played a significant role in human destiny. Thus, in the 'Ljubušin's Trial', a swallow signals to the Klenovich sisters about a quarrel between their brothers. Crows (kragui) were sacred birds to the Czechs; no one dared to startle them in the forest, and Zabo considers it the greatest insult to his gods that Christians drove the kragui out of the forests. The owl, it seems, was a symbol of death and darkness: when the soul flew out of the body, all the birds

were terrified, only the owls remained unafraid. But apart from these birds, the Slavs attributed the gift of divination to many others. Bird divination was widespread amongst all the peoples of our tribe. In Great Russia, divination using a black hen holds particular power, which is similar to the divinations of the augurs and, of course, belongs to the pagan world.

Among the four-legged animals, the Slavs regarded the ox and the horse as sacred. The depiction of a bull's head on Radegast's shield reflects the sun-worshipping beliefs of the Persians and Egyptians; the bull was a symbol of fertility, and thus in the Zend-Avesta the first being from which all creatures were formed is depicted as a bull. In Egypt, the bull signified the life-giving power of the sun. In Greece, the bull represented Bacchus, who was regarded as the sun. The extent to which the Slavs revered the horse is evident from the descriptions of the worship of Svanovit and Radegast: divination by means of a horse has survived among us to this day. In the general mythological system, the horse was regarded as an animal inseparable from the bull. In the Zend-Avesta, the horse is the animal of the sun, and Korshid (one of the names of the sun) is depicted riding a horse. The same was attributed to Apollo as the sun. Bees were revered as sacred insects. According to Russian superstitions, bees originated from a horse that had been drowned in a river and were found in the river; this bears some resemblance to the Zoroastrian bull slain by Agriman. In Greece, bees were regarded as companions of Artemis; they were also dedicated to Ceres and served as a monument and symbol of the Golden Age. Honey was

regarded as sacred among the Slavs, just as

among the Greek pagans: it was offered as a sacrifice to the gods and used at funeral feasts.

The Slavs populated the earth with both good and evil creatures. Among the good is the old man who appears in places where treasures are hidden and crumbles to dust at the slightest touch, thus signalling the presence of wealth to humans. The 'skritki' of the Bohemians — pygmies — seem to have been creatures neither good nor evil; similarly, in Russia people believe in the 'kotigoroshok', a little man with a beard reaching to his elbows, and so on. The Slavs had evil underground spirits; among the Bohemians, these were called 'Strigi'. Warriors would call upon them for help against their enemies, and they had the power to halt an enemy's horse: to ward this off, one would draw a cross on the ground with a sabre between the horse's legs, thereby severing the invisible bonds that restrained the animals; after that, one had to flee without looking back. Domovoi, no doubt, meant to the Slavs the Penates, the guardians of the home and household goods. Although they are now generally regarded as evil, in ancient times they were benevolent spirits, and this old notion still surfaces in present-day beliefs. Thus, in a charm, a mother wards off a stranger's house spirit from her son; her own house spirit, however, poses no danger.

Among the evil fantastical creatures are Kashchei-Yadun or Kashchei the Immortal, imagined as a skeleton; the accursed Baba Yaga, the opposite of the golden Baba Lada; the kuga among the Serbs or the plague woman; and so on. Since my aim is not to write a comprehensive history of Slavic mythology, let alone

of folk demonology at the present time; I shall therefore confine myself to what has been said, leaving a detailed examination to ethnographers.

Closely linked to the Slavs' symbolic veneration of objects in the physical world was the doctrine of metamorphosis; the songs of the Slavic peoples contain a great many tales of transformations: indeed, our ancestors believed that the soul of the deceased, and even a living person with their body, could transform into a tree or a bird, or some other creature. I consider it worthwhile to cite a few such metamorphoses here:

A young girl, ignoring her brother's warning, stepped onto a riverbank, drowned and turned into a birch tree, her eyes becoming blackthorn berries and her plait turning into grass.

A cruel mother mistreated her son; he left home and turned into a maple tree, whilst his horse turned to stone. The mother went out into the field and stood beneath the maple, which spoke to her, and she turned to dust.

A young man fell in love with a maiden and ran away with her, but could not marry her; he himself turned into a blackthorn, and the maiden into a guelder rose.

The master hated his wife and fell in love with a young girl, who told the mistress about it. The mistress killed her: two maple trees grew from her feet, and two beech trees from her hands.

The maiden waited a long time for her fiancé; she would go out onto a high burial mound and weep until she turned into a poplar.

The husband went off to war, leaving his wife in the care of his mother. His mother-in-law treated her so harshly that, in her anguish, the bride turned into a rowan tree. When the husband returned, he saw an unfamiliar rowan tree and began to chop it down; blood appeared from the tree, and the rowan tree told him that she was his wife, transformed.

A young girl was carrying water; weighed down by the labour imposed on her by her mistress, she dropped the buckets and turned into an apple tree. Some young men rode past, cut down the apple tree and made a lute out of it.

A brother killed his brother: a reed grew from the body of the slain man, which, when plucked, played a song denouncing the murder.

A young man, having spent a long time in a foreign land, married and discovered that his wife was his own sister: both turned into a flower known in Great Russian as 'Ivan-da-Mar'ya' and in Ukrainian as 'brother-with-sister' (viola tricolor): the brother is represented by the colour blue, and the sister by yellow.

There are several tales of transformations involving the cuckoo; for example, among the Serbs, a sister turns into a cuckoo for weeping over her dead brother. Among the Poles, a princess who was forcibly married off turned into a cuckoo. Among the Little Russians, a woman who was married off to a distant land flies back to her mother in the form of a cuckoo.

A woman is turned into a stone for misusing bread.

Brides turn into wolves as a result of evil spells.

The souls of the dead turn into birds and remain alive; thus, in a Little Russian song, the soul of a murdered man flies to his corpse, to his weeping wife, in the form of a peacock.

A maiden drowns in the Danube and her limbs turn into various objects, her arms into pike, her legs into catfish.

Ditmar claims that the Slavs know nothing of the afterlife: but this is unfair, for we can clearly see the opposite from the remnants of our poetry. From the Kraledvorsk manuscript we know that the Slavs recognised in man a special being, which they called the soul or little soul, and placed it in the throat. Once expelled from the body (in the words
'The Tale of Igor's Campaign'), would emerge from the throat and flit among the trees; then Morena would escort it into the black night. This is how a person's death is depicted. From Nestor and Arab writers, we know that the Slavs cremated their dead, and placed the ashes in vessels on pillars by the roadsides, and held a trizna or memorial service in honour of the departed. Whether the Slavs had a specific place for souls is not explicitly stated anywhere; the expression 'Morena lulled him to sleep in the black night' seems to indicate that they had neither paradise nor hell, but the Slavs did not believe in complete annihilation after death, and Morena's black night was not nothingness. Festivals in honour of the dead, coinciding in spring with celebrations of nature's renewal, libations and prayers for the dead, show that the Slavs had a concept of the

afterlife. From Nestor and Leo the Deacon we learn that, according to Slavic belief, one who breaks an oath will be a slave in the age to come. In days of old, during memorial feasts, wine was poured onto the grave and food was placed there, with the belief that all this would go to the deceased. Consequently, death did not put an end to a person's existence entirely. Hardly any other people have as many legends about wandering dead as the Slavs; yet it is certain that the Slavs do not assign them a specific place: the dead, according to popular belief, do not come from hell or darkness, but emerge from their coffins or appear from who knows where; some do people harm, whilst others wander aimlessly through the world, unable to find a place of rest. From all these beliefs—of which there are countless—it is clear that there was scarcely a specific place for the dead, but that there was a belief in life after death. However, the Czechs, who were more inclined to bury their dead, placed coins in the mouths and hands of the deceased as payment for Wuodzy and Plawcy — beings who, it seems, were supposed to guide and ferry the dead to some destination. Since the Slavs cremated their dead, and moreover believed in the presence of another being within the human body—the soul—the rising from the grave could not have been a universal belief at that time. We know only that the dead appeared. I believe that their abode is all of nature. Souls passed into trees and birds, and would call out to people, or take on their former form and appear. This was not a complete metempsychosis, but merely a lack of a clear concept of paradise and hell after death.

One can imagine how close the Slavs' connection with nature was, how animated the world seemed. Meanwhile, there was a belief in a new life, in return and renewal. In the early days of the spring festival, there was a custom of calling upon the dead: this was done when the resurrection of nature was celebrated, the victory of Svanovit over darkness and destruction, and it seems to have been based on the belief that the good principle would one day completely overcome death and raise the dead to life; rewards and punishments were associated with this distant time: this is what was called the 'age to come'. According to Duinberg, the Prussians believed that bodies would one day be resurrected and live in the same state as before. Kadlubek speaks of the 'Getae'—by which he means the Latvians and Lithuanians—stating that, in their view, souls leave the body and will subsequently enter bodies yet to be born. This belief is also found in other mythologies, for example in Norse and Zend-Vest, where it is said that the incarnate good, Soziash, will defeat death, resurrect the dead, and create a new heaven and a new earth.

Slavic religion was alien to fatalism. Procopius informs us of this, stating that the Slavs have no concept of fate whatsoever. Although the idea of predestination exists among our common people today, it has clearly been borrowed from foreign sources via Christianity. Even the Polish word 'los', meaning 'fate', is borrowed from German. The Little Russian word 'dol'a' does not mean 'fate', but rather the state in which a person finds themselves: in one

song a Cossack complains about his lot, and his lot replies that it is not the lot that is to blame, but the will. This is the indigenous Slavic concept of human freedom. Divination at temples does not signify a belief in fate either, but rather that a person feels the limitations of their own reason and wishes to learn from the deity: whether what they are undertaking will be appropriate.

Belief in divination was extremely widespread among the Slavs, so much so that even today in Russian villages a healer or fortune-teller enjoys the same power and significance as an oracle. Prophecies in temples were always accompanied by divination. Not only priests practised divination, but also women, who, in engaging in this, formed a sort of specialised guild. In Bohemia there were women known as wieszkynie; they answered questions concerning the political state of the country, and the princes acted on their advice. The Slavs had a deep respect for the casting of lots and regarded it as a manifestation of the supreme will. This was combined with a belief in the power of the word. The human word possessed something magical, contained a mysterious power, the knowledge of which was the height of wisdom. A word could bring a person happiness and destroy them irrevocably; a word could drive away illness, halt the actions of evil spirits, control physical phenomena, and work miracles. Whoever grasped the mysterious meaning of the word was safe in battle, at sea, and amongst secret enemies. A remnant of this belief is found in incantations, through which the common people believe they can acquire wealth and rid themselves of dangers and illnesses. Such a

belief

sparked a love of poetry among the Slavs and produced a vast repertoire of songs. In song, the Slav saw not only something pleasant, but something profoundly wondrous: the poet was known as a 'veshch', i.e. one who knows hidden truths, and poetry was called 'veshba'. Hence the Slavs' respect for the laws and rules of their forefathers, expressed in a multitude of sayings or proverbs that convey the wisdom of everyday life.

II PAGAN

FESTIVALS

SLAVS

The Slavs organised their festivals in accordance with the three phases of the world's activity, as reflected in the changing seasons, which were subsequently divided into three parts; there were three festivals, corresponding to the three stages of the agricultural cycle: sowing, harvesting

and preparation.

The first was a spring festival, a celebration in honour of Lada, marking the resurrection or return of the sun. Strykovsky, describing this festival among the Lithuanians, states that it lasted from 25 May to 23 June. Such a lengthy festival was observed by the Slavs: in our villages, special songs with the name Lada in the refrains are sung exclusively in spring until 23 June. Narbut doubts that a festival of an agricultural people would be so prolonged at a time when work needs to be done; but firstly, the very field work among the Slavs was accompanied, as it is now, by songs, and moreover by such as are sung only during specific tasks; and secondly, the period from 23 May to 23 June is quite free for the farming class: sowing is then finished, and haymaking has not yet begun. And even now, at no other time are more songs sung than during this period. The spring festival was in fact much longer, but Strykowski spoke only of part of it—the period when being free from work gave the villagers more opportunity to indulge in games and amusements.

The spring festival began very early: as soon as the snow began to melt in the sun, a religious service was held and a goat was sacrificed, just as among the Prussians and the peoples of the East. Remnants of this ancient custom among the Slavs include: 1) songs in which such a sacrifice is mentioned, and
2) the custom of parading a goat: this is observed in Ukraine at the start of spring, usually during the first week of Lent. Young men and women run through the streets, clapping their hands

and singing; it is in these songs that the name Lada is first mentioned with the epithet Lelyu, meaning 'bright'. In Russian, this festival is called 'proletye'. When the snow had melted, the rivers had thawed and the first grass had appeared, a celebration was held to mark the death of winter and the arrival of spring. First and foremost, a round dance, specially formed in advance from young men and women—called 'stado' by the Poles—bathed as a sign of purification. A remnant of this rite survived in Ukraine as late as the 17th century, according to Boplan's account, in the form of the following custom: during 'Light Week', young men would run after young women with buckets and pour water over them, whilst the following day the young women would repay the men in kind; in other places, they would throw one another into the water; in some parts of Russia, even today, villagers immerse themselves in water at the start of spring, then climb onto their huts and sing songs in honour of spring. This was followed by a symbolic ritual of drowning winter and invoking spring. In the 17th century in Poland, a straw effigy was made, dressed in women's clothing, solemnly carried to the river and cast into the water; this effigy was called Marzana, and, according to Velsky's interpretation, signified for the Slavs death or winter—that is, water in a stagnant state—representing Dekanna-Hecate in her destructive, life-destroying aspect. At that time, people would sing: 'Death prowls through the granaries, seeking its prey.' Among the Czechs, a similar festival was called the celebration of the slain winter and the resurrection of spring. Then another straw effigy was burnt amidst songs and shouts. These two

rites signified the thawing of the water and the slaying of Marzhana, or winter—dead water—through the combination of the light of fire with living, fertile (healing

and deadly water in Russian fairy tales). That the drowning and burning took place together is evident from the following: Velsky states that the drowning of Marzhana was performed during White Week (the fifth week of Lent), whilst a Little Russian song goes:

On White Week,

Fires were

burning;

Then a ritual invocation or summoning of spring took place. This celebration is called 'Krasnaya Gorka' among the Russians and 'Gailky' among the Chervonorussians. As the idea of light worship applied to various objects, the festival had four meanings: religious-dogmatic, agricultural, familial and funerary.

Firstly, it was a celebration of the coming spring. It began with invocations of the Mother of the Sun, the great Lada.

For example, in the song:

Bless us, Mother, O

Mother Lada,

Mother! Call forth the

spring.

After that they sang solemn hymns in honour of the sun; e.g.

Little sun, little bucket,

Peek through the little

window! Your maidens

are weeping, —

or
Rise, bright little sun:
Warm us, brave lads, Brave lads with
their maidens. The round dance addressed
the moon and the stars: Why, little moon,
are you alone in the sky? Though I am
alone, God made me so
All the little stars are with me, or
Shine, dawn, over the
whole field, Until the
moon sets!
They sang sacred songs in honour of the
water: — Birch trees of the meadows,
overflow,
'Flow, water, spring water!' —
they performed prayers for fertility
and for rain* —
Rain, rain, rain! On the
old woman's rye,
on grandpa's wheat,
On the maiden's flax
Pour it out by the
bucketful, —
they would say to the forests, asking them
to grow, e.g. (Little Russian)

Hey, puddle,

Make a lot of
noise!

Don't delay

Grow nicely! —

The blossoming oak groves called upon the birds to cheer them up with their song:

My forest, my green forest; you

are not merry There is no one to

cheer you up.

The little birds flew off into the sky.

Then symbolic games began; some of them heralded spring, others commemorated mythological events. At that time, Svanovit's struggle with Chernobog, Svanovit's death and burial, and his resurrection—like that of the Egyptian Osiris or the Roman-Phrygian Attis—were dramatised, and from this came the aforementioned Kostruvonka rite. The song now sung at Kostruvonka's burial depicts the whole of nature weeping over the deceased deity; afterwards, the ritual concludes with joyful songs. By depicting nature's torpor in winter and its return to life in spring, this ritual symbolises Svanovit's earthly journey, his death in battle—much like that of Baldur—and, indeed, a resurrection akin to that of Osiris and Attis. Apart from this rite, there are several others which I do not consider it appropriate to describe in detail here, leaving such a task to ethnographers. The refrains: 'Lado! Didi-Lado!' (i.e. the great Lado), 'Lelyu-Lado! Dana! Dana!' indicate that they all relate

to the sacred history of Slavic paganism, with which the worship of light and water is associated. The rites and songs were accompanied by sacred fires; in honour of the sun, the heavenly bodies and water, the sun's bride, lamps were carried, just as in Egypt at the festival of Osiris, in India at the festival of Droveda, among the Greeks in honour of Apollo, who was depicted with a torch, and also at the festivals of Ceres and Bacchus. A remnant of this is a single round dance in which the maidens walk in measured steps, pretending to carry something to the river and singing:

I'll light a candle for
the little sun; Come
quietly!
And the water over
the stone. And the
water over the white
stone — Even more
quietly.

The name of the game, 'Gorelki' (a spring game), indicates that it was originally performed around lit fires.

The second meaning of the 'red hill' was agricultural. As this was the time of sowing, agricultural activities were depicted through symbolic imagery. Evidence of this can be found in games such as the well-known 'sowing millet' game, and in round dances that depict ploughing in general, e.g. (Little Russian)

'And beyond the forest, beyond the dark
green forest, O Lelya! Lado! the
ploughmen were ploughing!' — sowing
poppies, for example (Little Russian):
I'll sow, I'll sow, black
poppies, May God grant us
red ones. — hops, for
example (Russian) Sway,
hops,
Towards our little corner! —
barley and wheat, e.g. (Russian) Grant
us, O God,
Bearded barley, Eared
wheat! — for flax, e.g.
(Little Russian) Let us
sow flax, flax!
Oh, Lelyu-Lado! Flax! —
and various farm tasks, e.g. (Little Russian) Oh,
Lelyu-Lado! The community stood there,
The community stood there, digging a well.

All this, being depicted in the sacred rite, seemed to sanctify the peasants' labours in the fields. At the same time, this festival was significant for the shepherds. Ditmar says that among the Slavs, in spring, there was such a custom: a shepherd would go round the farmyards with a

stick, the handle of which represented a hand holding an iron ball. The shepherd

shouted: 'Gonilo! Guard!' And everyone believed that this stick protected the flock from wolves.

The Lithuanians also celebrated Gonigla's Day; Goniglo was revered as the god of shepherds, but the festival coincided with the celebration of the sun. I believe that the Lithuanian Gonigло is the Slavic Gonylo; and among the Slavs it denoted a spirit—the patron of herds, or, more likely, was one of the names for a light-bearing being. Gonylo means 'the one who drives', just as Kupalo means 'the one who unites'. It seems that the ball on the stick is a symbol of the sun.

The third significance of the festival was familial. The highest order, universal harmony, is physically symbolised in the image of the marriage of fire and water, personified under the names of Svanovit and Devana. This union took place on Kupala Day, whilst in the spring, prior to that, an imaginary love between light and water unfolded, like that of a bridegroom and a bride; the result of this love was universal blossoming, joy and freshness. Evidence of this is provided, for example, by the following song:

Spring, little spring!
Where is your daughter, little
maiden? She sits in the garden
Sewing a shirt, With
silk and linen For
her own delight!

Here I understand 'spring' to mean Lada, and 'daughter' to mean Devanna, the sister and wife of Svanovit. The love between the light-bearing male deity and the water-bearing female deity served as the archetype for the union of the sexes on earth; therefore, in the round dance composed for worship, young men and maidens were to be united in marriage at the end of the festival, and until then, in their games and songs, express mutual love, to glorify the supreme love. Evidence of this is provided by songs in which the love of the masculine for the feminine is depicted; but never of one person for another, but always of several people together, so that usually three or four young men are depicted either as three or four moons, and three or four young women as stars, or as birds, plants, and so on. And the spring games often symbolise love and marriage, for example, the prince and princess, or the sown millet, where the abduction of maidens is depicted, and so on. These games, which were unique to Krasnaya Gorka, seem to have been the origin and religious consecration of those festivities which were thereafter to be held every evening in the courtyards, and at which young people got to know one another and prepared for marriage.

The fourth significance of the festival was religious and funerary. The very same folk festival, now known as 'Krasnaya Gorka', is also called 'Radunitsa' or 'Provody and Mogilki'. After the merry games, people would go to the graves or to those memorials where vessels containing the ashes of the deceased stood on pillars; they would bring there

food and drink, made libations in honour of the deceased, whilst the women, in mournful songs, recalled the virtues of the departed. Then a 'trizna' or 'strava' was held—a solemn feast at which both invited and uninvited guests ate and drank, all in honour of the deceased—and afterwards wrestling and contests began, much like those of the ancient Greeks, as seen in the *Iliad*. These heroic games were considered necessary for the deceased. Hence, the very word 'trizna' is defined as a duel in Pamva-Berinda's lexicon. We find a description of such a pagan trizna in Nestor's chronicle, which recounts that, following the feast at Igor's grave, Princess Olga invited the Drevlians to compete against the people of Kyiv. Metropolitan Cyril recalls this custom in the 17th century, stating that certain shameful acts were committed with shouts and cries as people fought to the death. The commemoration ended with joyful songs and dances, which was called 'calling the dead', i.e. summoning them to life and hope for the resurrection. Cosmas of Prague states that in Bohemia, pagan games were held to appease the dead; they would therefore rouse them (i.e. 'call them back', to use the Russian folk term) and, donning masks, conclude the commemoration in a merry and boisterous manner. It is evident from the Stoglav that during the commemoration, skomorokhi and musicians performed; everyone would stop weeping and begin to leap, dance and clap their hands. The Slavs, it seems, believed, like the Persians, that a day of universal resurrection would come—a day of radiant light—when Lad-Svanovit would defeat Chernobog and a new earth and a new heaven would dawn. A remnant of this

doctrine is the belief that in a certain realm there are people who fall asleep for the winter and are resurrected on St George's Day, that is, people die when their winter comes and are resurrected on the day of Sventovit's victory, now replaced by the name of a Christian warrior.

After the Red Hill festival, field work began, accompanied by songs and merriment. Everything took on the appearance of a service to Lada. In the evenings, young men and women would gather in a round dance, usually by the water, in groves or meadows. These were the very festivities between the villages at which, according to Nestor, maidens bathed by the water; these were the very debauched festivities about which the clergy complained, pointing in contrast to the empty churches of God. I believe that chastity was not always observed at these festivities, at least to some extent, for these festivities seemed shameful and licentious to Christians. Traces of the worship of the lingam among the northern Rus' during the festival of Yarila indicate that the concept of Lada was rather immodest. Nestor states that at the festivities, by mutual agreement, men had two or three wives. Given the Slavs' respect for marriage, I interpret this account to mean that at the festivities young men often changed their mistresses. The phrase in the Kralodvorsk manuscript: 'they command us to have a single group of friends from spring until Morana' seems to mean that Christians did not permit gatherings at the festivities, where young people engaged in improper behaviour. The songs sung by our villagers in the evenings in spring often exude sensuality; add

to this the description of the Rus' by an Eastern traveller, where their relations with girls (and not women) are depicted in a repulsive light; and so all this leads to the conclusion that the pagan festivities contained much that would now offend the concept of propriety. The sense of modesty was developed chiefly by Christianity. To pagans, brief interactions between the sexes did not seem particularly sinful. In almost all religions akin to the Slavic one in their worship of the sun, one sees not only free interaction between the sexes, but sacred fornication. The Indians had Bayadères, who lived in temples and were obliged to offer themselves for the pleasure of men in honour of the gods. The abominations committed in Egypt can be seen in Herodotus's ancient book. Among the Babylonians, according to Herodotus, whilst respecting the marital union, every woman was required once in her life to give herself to a stranger in honour of the goddess Militta (our Lada, perhaps Militsa). Among the Greeks and Romans, during the festival of Bacchus, extreme acts of indecency were committed, and an image of the male genitalia was carried as a sacred symbol of fertility. Perhaps the Slavs, too, held the view that a maiden should indulge in pleasures in the prime of her youth, and only then become a faithful wife. It is likely that among the Slavs, for whom, according to Saxo Grammaticus, the deity punished illicit relations, this free behaviour did not amount to stuprum, but was limited to seductive tenderness,

kisses and embraces. But be that as it may, these festivities, by the manner in which they were conducted, deserved to be abhorred by Christians. The surest proof is that even now, especially in Little Russia, such remnants of pagan debauchery are committed at similar festivities in the villages that they completely destroy the praise of the villagers' pure morality which we so often read in our books.

When the farmers had sown their crops and had more leisure time, when the heat of the sun became more intense and organic life developed more rapidly, the Slavs held a festival in honour of Lada, called Semik: this word corresponds to the seven thousand days of Dazhbog's reign and the seven swords of Ruyevit. This festival was the same as that known to the Russians as Yarilo, and to the Slovaks as Turice and Letnice. The name Yarilo means the same as Yarovit, and derives from the word 'zhar' (heat), whilst the word 'yar' has several meanings: 1) 'yar' – spring; 2) 'yar' – courage, 'bujarost' (Kralodv. hand.) – bravery; 3) 'yar' – anger, fury; 4) 'yar' – lust, passion; 'Turitsy' derives from 'Tur', meaning a wild bull, and the bull, as we already know, symbolised the light-bearing, fruit-bearing power among the Slavs, just as it did among other idol-worshippers. And since the fertile power was, in its essence, the deity of light, this deity was given the name Tur, just as among the Egyptians the bull Apis signified a god; and from there, by analogy and due to the resulting equivalence of the words: 'tur' and 'vit', heroes were also called 'turs': thus, in 'The Tale of Igor's Campaign', Vsevolod

is called Yar-Tur. Like the Red Hill, Semik has four meanings: religious-dogmatic, agricultural, familial and funerary.

This festival lasted several days, perhaps seven to be precise, or perhaps even extended to Kupala Day, as may be inferred from the fact that the summer solstice rites are performed in various parts of the Slavic world at different times, but always around the Feast of the Holy Trinity and Kupala Day.

The idea behind it is the worship of a light-bearing being at the height of its activity: the god Ruyevit. A circle dance of young men and women wearing wreaths of twigs would gather on a rise by the riverbank, in a grove. A felled tree, decorated with ribbons — and, no doubt, formerly with symbolic signs — is an essential feature of this festival amongst Russian villagers. Usually this tree is a birch, and it seems it symbolised Mother Lada-Nature, for the birch in Little Russian songs and folk tales always symbolises the mother. The Romans had a sacred tree at the festival of Attis, representing the mother Cybele; similarly, it represented Maia, understood as nature and the mother of the world, and Aphrodite, in whose honour a tree called the arbor majalis was erected; in a similar vein, the Indians depicted Bhagavani, the universal mother, in the form of the lotus. According to the research of the scholar Snegirev, such a tree was called Maistrae by the Danes, Maypole by the English, and Maibaum by the Germans, and a birch tree was used for this purpose. Of course, this is one concept, by which

the supreme being was also symbolised by the ancient Celts in the form of a tree. That is why I believe that the Russian birch also signified Mother Nature, a view further supported by the song about a woman transforming into a birch, whose eyes became black thorns, her braid silky grass, and her tears dew. Consequently, as soon as the personification disappears, the idea behind it expresses the whole of nature. The rite of Yarila's burial also belongs to this spring festival; although it is sometimes performed afterwards, but as this varies by place and time, it most likely coincided with the birch festival or followed immediately after it. Yarila is now celebrated in various ways: in the old days, a man, flushed, bound with ribbons and bells, wearing a red cap on his head, would walk, surrounded by a crowd of people who danced, sang, drank, and fought, often to the death. Finally, a male effigy with a lingam was buried. This is how this pagan festival is described in Voronezh, in the life of His Eminence Tikhon, who destroyed and cursed the idol. In other places — for example, in the Voronezh Governorate — Yarilo is the name given to an effigy dressed in both men's and women's clothing. In Belarus, Yarilo was depicted as a young man adorned with flowers. It is clear, however, that Yarilo is identical to Kostrubonok, Kostroma and, finally, Lad, for in the Vladimir Governorate Yarilo is called Lad. Yarilo means 'the one who arouses love and lust', and his burial is a repetition

or a transposition into summer of the spring ritual of Kostrubon's burial. This is sufficient to show that this festival was celebrated in honour of light, represented in the sense of a fruitful, love-giving force. The festival falls at a time when all of nature is, as the Russians say, 'in full swing'. An integral part of this festival is divination, particularly through wreaths and flowers, which are thrown into the water.

The religious and agricultural significance of the summer festival is evident from the custom of walking through the fields carrying icons entwined with flowers. As this takes place before the start of haymaking and the harvest, it follows that the Slavs were performing a purification rite on the fields at that time. In Galicia, such a procession is observed with particular significance: young men and women walk wearing wreaths and sing songs appropriate only to this time; the banners are entwined with flowers. Christian pastors, gently spreading the faith, adapted to Christianity those pagan rites which contained nothing contrary to Christian doctrine.

In terms of family life, the songs of the summer solstice differ from those of spring. In them, young men no longer seek out maidens, nor is the first meeting of lovers depicted; instead, they express a foreboding of an imminent marriage. Thus, in one song, for example, a young woman believes she will soon be married; in another, she laments the fleeting days of her maidenhood—days of merriment and song—which will be followed by the monotonous life of married life. That is why, in the spring songs, the father sends his daughter off to the festivities and says:

'Go and have fun, my daughter, as much as you like! You won't be young twice.' And in the songs of the summer solstice, the mother sends her daughter out to have fun.

Alongside the festivities, feasts and merry games, the dead were commemorated. The round dance moved from the sacred groves and waters to the graves: there, memorial feasts were held with the same games as in spring. That is why, in Christianity, graves were dug for travellers on the days of the Seven. And even now, around this time, it is customary to hold memorial services. The living, celebrating life in its fullness—the earthly kingdom of light—reminded the departed that the time would come for them too when the sword of light would strike down the darkness and deliver them from the black night.

At the same time, sacrifices were made to the water nymphs; and to this day, the week following the Feast of the Holy Spirit is called 'Rusalia'. According to Kozma of Prague, the Czechs offered sacrifices to springs around the feast of Pentecost.

Finally, to conclude the prolonged festival of Lada, the great celebration of Kupala was held. None of the folk festivals remained among the Slavs — with its obviously pagan elements—after the adoption of Christianity, as the Kupala festival. The clergy in Russia strove to eradicate it and have not succeeded to this day; but they have left us curious descriptions. In the Stoglav (in the 16th century), they complain that on the eve of the feast of the Nativity of John the Baptist, from nightfall and throughout the day until nightfall, men

and women and children, in their homes and in the streets, and whilst walking on the water, engage in frivolous behaviour with all manner of games and skomorokh antics and satanic songs; at night, in the grove, they bathe in water and, having lit a fire, leap over it according to some ancient custom. The Synopsis states that in Little Russia, on the eve of the Nativity of St John the Baptist, young men, women and maidens who have gathered in the evening weave wreaths for themselves from a certain herb, place them upon their heads and gird themselves with them. Moreover, at that devilish gathering, they light a fire, and those gathered around it, holding hands, walk and leap about wickedly, singing songs, often repeating the name of the evil Kupala and leaping over the fire. The Gostyn Chronicle states that on the eve of the Nativity of John the Baptist, common folk of both sexes gather, weave wreaths for themselves from poisonous herbs, and, having girded themselves with these, kindle a fire; a fire, and place a green branch in a basin; holding hands, they quickly circle round the fire, singing their songs, and then leap over the fire. In Poland, this custom was called 'Sobotka' and, in the 16th century, served as entertainment even for the upper classes. 'We have received a mother's command,' says Jan Kochanowski, the famous Polish poet, 'that when the nightingale ceases to sing and the sun enters the sign of Cancer, Sobotka must certainly be celebrated.' According to the botanist Martin, such a fire, intended for leaping over, was produced by rubbing wood against wood. Among the Western Slavs, this festival—also known as Sobotka—has become so deeply rooted that, according to Khodakovsky,

across a stretch of several hundred versts on 23 June

, the Sudeten Mountains, the Karkonosze and the Carpathians appear to be ablaze.

Traces of this festival exist among many peoples. Thus, in the northern countries, such a fire was lit in honour of Balder; in Germany it is called Iohannisfeuer: the Germans drove their herds through it. Its antiquity is evident from the fact that Charlemagne himself forbade the Saxons from practising it. It was then called 'Nedfri', i.e. 'Nothfeuer' — the necessary fire. In Hungary, too, a fire is lit and people leap over it. Among the Lithuanians, this festival was called 'Rossa', and the lighting of the fire was its main ritual. Among the Finns it is called Kokko. The ancient Romans had a shepherds' festival called Palilia, when they leapt over the fire and led their flocks through it; at the same time, purification was performed using water. Ovid says that he leapt over the fire three times and was sprinkled with water from a laurel branch. Among the Greeks, purification by fire and water constituted an important tenet of religion and a significant part of the rites of Ceres and Bacchus. In ancient times, on the festival of Vesta—23 June—houses were sprinkled with water and people leapt over burning bonfires at night. The Mongols had a similar custom, as is evident from the fact that Batu ordered Prince Michael of Chernigov to pass through the fire and bow to a bush and the fire. Among the Semitic peoples, a similar practice of passing through fire existed. Thus, the apostate Jewish kings Manasseh and Ahaz led their children through the fire according to the custom

of the pagans. Thus, the Kupala festival among the Slavs was a common celebration of the entire pagan world.

Here is how this festival is celebrated in southern Russia: first of all, young men and women bathe, then they put on wreaths of black alder with fragrant herbs, gird themselves with mugwort (Artemisia vulgare) and, before sunset , they gather on high ground, invariably by a river. They erect two figures: one is a scarecrow resembling a human, the other a tree entwined with women's headdresses, ribbons and wreaths; the tree is usually a black alder; then they scatter heaps of straw, set them alight and, standing in a circle, sing songs; taking the effigies in their hands—a lad and a girl in pairs—they leap over the fire; then, when everyone has leapt, they throw the effigies into the water; the male effigy is called Kupala, and the female one, Marena. Immediately afterwards, they throw their wreaths into the water. The songs sung on this occasion tell that Kupalo (usually transformed into Ivan) was bathing, that the sun was playing upon him, and that, having bathed to his heart's content, he fell into the water. They also sing of Marena, that she was an extraordinary beauty, played in a high tower, and then threw herself into the water. Furthermore, they sing of a certain female being who drowned in the Danube, and of a male being who was hacked to pieces by maidens and turned into several flowers. In addition to all this, other songs are of an erotic nature and are almost variations on wedding songs.

From this I conclude: — that the two figures, male and female—Kupalo and Morena—represent Lada-Svantovita—the light-bearing principle—and the feminine watery principle, or Devana: nowadays they are known among the people as the Tsar of Fire and the Tsarina of Water. Kupalo is one of the names of the deity; Kupalo means 'the copulator', just as Yarilo means 'the one who arouses love'. The words: 'Kupalo (or Ivan) was bathing, had his fill of bathing, and fell into the water' — mean that Lad-Light made love to Devana — the watery principle — and united with her in marriage, from which union full life and love in creation were formed. The marriage of the sun and water was the greatest celebration of all creation; hence, according to popular superstitions, the sun stops three times on St John's Day, and birds, beasts, flowers and trees rejoice. Indeed, at that time, after the sun enters the sign of Cancer, a process of growth and awakening takes place in nature; — therefore, the sun appears at the very height of its life-giving activity.

In family matters, this day held great significance for the Slavs. Young men and women, who had formed a round dance during the festival of Lada, were to be united in marriage. The round dance comes to an end. Each young man chooses himself a lifelong partner. This is evidenced by the fact that Kupala songs are, for the most part, the same as wedding songs; — they contain little mention of love, and when they do, it is of conjugal love; the maiden loses her father, brother and sister and gains a father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother-in-law and sister-in-law.

Both bathing and leaping over the fire are marriage rites, and it seems that for the pagan Slavs these were what a wedding ceremony is today. Thus, Jacob the Black-Robed, who lived in the 11th century, complained to Metropolitan John that ordinary people do not undergo a church wedding, but perform the marriage rite by means of splashing. Fire, too, is used at weddings: in Little Russia, even now at the wedding feast, the bride and groom leap over a pile of burning straw, just as they do on Kupala. What reinforces my belief that Kupala also signified a wedding celebration is the fact that, at the end of the entire ceremony, wreaths are thrown into the water; and in Little Russian poetry, a wreath thrown into the water invariably symbolises the end of maidenhood. That is why, at weddings, the bride wears a wreath and removes it when she becomes a wife.

— In practical terms, this festival was also of great importance. On this day, herbs are usually gathered, both medicinal ones and those to which the imagination attributes magical powers. Water, fire, and even the wreaths from the Kupala festival are considered beneficial to health. It is then that a certain kind of earthen coal, said to cure diseases, is found beneath the black elder. It is then that the herb archilina grows—believed in ancient times to be obtained only through a gold or silver hryvnia—and the herb razryv, capable of destroying iron, and the fern blooms, a symbol of the mysterious power of light. With Kupala's fire and water, the Slavs purified their livestock, fields and vegetable gardens, preparing for the start of field work and believing that in doing so they protect the crops from harmful

insects. And so, some mythographers rightly call Kupala the god of earthly fruits. As the embodiment of the sun's supreme power, he was indeed a deity of fertility.

I do not know for certain whether the Kupala festival has significance for the departed, but I do know for certain that fire and water were considered essential for them. Thus the Russians explained to an Arab traveller that they burn bodies so that the dead might enter unhindered into bliss, and thus attain bliss through fire. In Bohemia, even if corpses were buried without being cremated, it was considered essential for a fire to burn on the grave for three or seven days. That water was also essential for the dead is evident from the fact that, according to the account of the same Arab traveller, the dead were invariably cremated in a boat on the water. Sviatoslav, to appease the departed, drowned roosters and infants in water. Among the Slavs of the Volkhov region, pieces of the wood used to make coffins are thrown into the water or burnt. In Little Russia, the shells of red eggs are thrown into the water in the hope that they will float to the dead around Kupala Day. Finally, it is also significant that around this festival the Little Russians have a day called 'the great day of the dead', i.e. the resurrection of the dead. I believe that the Slavs regarded Kupala Day, the greatest day of the sun's annual cycle, as the day of the final victory of fire and light over darkness and evil.

At the end of the long festival of Lada, field work began, which, despite its arduous nature,

are now accompanied by songs. When the harvest was over, another solemn festival, Svanovitu-Ladu, now known as the harvest festival, was celebrated. Saxo Grammaticus describes it among the Baltic Slavs as follows. On the day set aside for the harvest festival, the Arkonian priest enters the sanctuary, that is, the inner part of the temple, holding his breath in reverence and looking to see if there is wine in the horn held in the idol's right hand. If there is none or little, this was taken as a sign of a good harvest to come. The people are gathered in front of the temple and in the outer part of the temple: the priest finishes the remaining wine, fills the horn, goes out to the people, drinks whilst offering solemn prayers for the general welfare, victory and peace, wishes that none of those present should die, then fills the horn with wine again and leaves it in the idol's hand. After that, he steps out to the people; a huge honey cake is brought and placed before the priest. The priest asks: 'Well, can you see me?' If they reply, 'We cannot see you,' he says, 'Well then, may you not see me next year either, for the sake of great abundance.' We may regard this precious account as if it were about our own Russian fatherland. To this day, the Little Russians preserve a similar rite, though it has been moved to the time of the Christmas festivities. The head of the family sits down at a table laden with food and surrounded by sheaves of grain. He asks: 'Can you see me, children?' They reply: 'We cannot.' He says: 'May God grant that you do not see me next year either.' The custom of eating honey cake was also observed by the Greeks

. After the ritual, the Slavs celebrated the festival with feasts and merrymaking. Nowadays, among the common people, this celebration is observed with various ceremonies in different regions. In Russia, it is customary for the whole village to chip in, drink and eat, whilst performing rituals that are truly mythological; for example, they make a scarecrow from a sheaf in the shape of a woman, or bring a cockerel to church (and the cockerel, especially a red one, symbolises fire throughout northern Europe). In Little Russia, the reapers carry sheaves to the church, wearing wreaths of ears of corn interwoven with flowers.

The third Slavic festival was celebrated in winter, at the time when the sun reached the lowest point of its power and began its return towards spring. This festival is rooted in the universal mythological concept of the birth of light. In Persia, Migran was celebrated at the end of December and was known as the festival of the birth of the invincible sun. Similarly, in Egypt, the priests celebrated the birth of Osiris. The Romans, at that time, observed the Shiwar Kalends, also known as the Natales Solis invicti. This festival was also associated with the worship of Mithras, who was referred to as the 'invincible sun'. The ancient depiction of a woman with a baby was a symbol of the rising sun. The Scandinavians at that time celebrated the festival of Yule as a sign of the returning sun. In England, the longest night of winter was called 'Mother Night', for from that time the days grew longer, and the sun regained its former strength, that is, was reborn. The Slavs had at that time a festival now known as

Kolyada; some claimed that this was the name of a deity of the world, whilst others rejected any mythological origin of this festival and believed that Kolyada was a corrupted form of the word Calendae and had come to Little Russia from the Poles, who had borrowed it from the Western Europeans. But we know that not only in Little Russia, but also in Great Russia, in the most remote corners, the name Kolyada is known; moreover, we find a clear resemblance between the rites of this festival and ancient similar mythological celebrations. I shall not set out all these similarities, but will refer to Snegirev's excellent work: 'Russian Folk Festivals', where this is amply demonstrated. I believe, however, that the name Kolyada does not derive from *Calendae* at all, but rather is synonymous with the word *Iola*, meaning 'wheel'—the circle of the sun; *kolyada* also derives from *kolo*—'circle', 'wheel'.

In religious terms, this festival was celebrated by the Slavs in honour of the nascent sun, from which it follows that the Slavs began the year with the winter solstice. Osiris-Svanovit, temporarily defeated by Tifron-Chernobog, rises up and begins his process of reviving nature. And since the sun carries out its activity continuously and first appears in a small form, this gave rise to the concept among all pagan peoples of the birth and infancy of the light-bearing principle in its annual cycle: hence the depiction of a woman—personifying nature—with an infant. Hence Porivit was depicted unarmed: this signified

that light governs the world, though now without the means to combat darkness and death, whilst the head resting on Porenut's chest signified self-regeneration. A song serves as a testament to this:

The carol was born on

Christmas Eve.

Perhaps, and as it ought to be, the coming to earth of the light-bearing principle in human form coincided with this time; many carols, apparently relating to the Infancy of the Divine Redeemer, seem to refer to a pagan incarnation. For example, one carol states that the mother gave birth to a son and bathed him in the sea; we know that the sun is bathed, and, according to Lithuanian mythology, his mother lives by the sea. It was probably also a festival of the creation of the world, for some ritual songs speak of this, and do so entirely in accordance with pagan concepts. At that time, sacred games were performed, as can be seen from the winter round dances, and sacrifices were offered. Thus, one Russian Christmas carol clearly depicts a pagan sacrifice: fires burn in the forest, benches stand around the fires, young men and maidens sit on the benches,

Singing Kaledushka songs. In

their midst sits an old man, He

sharpens his damascene knife,

The cauldron boils fiercely,

A goat stands by the cauldron,

They want to slaughter
the goat; 'You, little
brother Ivanushka, do
you see? Jump out! I'd
love to jump out
The burning stone is drawn to the
cauldron; the yellow sands have
sucked out my heart.

In family life, this festival seems to have had the significance that a round dance was then formed to welcome spring and was consecrated by religious rites. In the songs, of which there are most of this kind, preparations for amorous pursuits are depicted. The carollers, walking beneath the windows in Little Russia, sing ritual songs to young men and maidens and always portray them as not yet knowing love, yet foretell to them a speedy acquaintance with this feeling. Thus, the young man is depicted with the attributes of a fine fellow, on horseback, hunting or at war; unexpectedly, he finds himself a maiden and wins her either through heroic valour or by charming her with his beauty. The maidens are praised for their finery and their beauty, and it is said that princes and boyars (i.e. suitors) will soon gather round her, seeking her love, and that in the end she will be taken by the most valiant and handsome of all the young men. For the most part, the fortune-telling, a substantial part of the festival, relates to family ties. A girl wishes to discover her betrothed, a young man his future partner. From the multitude of fortune-telling practices, I

consider it worth recalling a few that undoubtedly belong to the pagan world. Among these

includes divination by means of a horse: the girls lead a horse out and guide it over a log; if the horse does not stumble, the husband of the girl divining for herself will be kind; otherwise, he will be angry. Divination by means of a ring is also ancient, for traces of it are found in the Kralodvorsky manuscript. Divination using hens, which are made to drink water, eat bread, pick up rings and so on, bears a resemblance to the divination practised by the Roman augurs. Divination using a covered vessel in a bath is similar to the Roman divination described by St Augustine. Divination by means of a splinter dipped in water and set alight, whereby the speed of ignition is used to determine whether a marriage will be favourable or unfavourable, corresponds to the pagan concept of the marriage of fire and water. All these forms of divination are exclusively domestic. Therefore, I believe that in paganism, on the festival of Kolyada—the birth of the sun—a round dance was formed and consecrated, whose members—young men and maidens—were to glorify, through their love, the universal love expressed in nature by life, and in pagan theology, by the symbolic marriage of the Fire King and the Water Queen.

Without the slightest doubt, the festival of Kolyada was of great importance in agricultural terms. The customs of 'shchedrovanie' and, to some extent, 'kolyadovanie' among the Little Russians are predominantly agricultural. Singers beneath the window extol the host's abundance and happiness, saying that he has wheat bread, sausages and cured meats, and wish him the same prosperity for the coming year. 'God

is calling you! — as one carol goes: you shall be given two fields of rye, a third of wheat, a fourth of buckwheat, and a fifth of oats. Another carol states that God loves the householder, and when he sows grain for the coming year, God will send rain upon his field, which will fall three times in May, and rye and wheat will flourish in the field; in gratitude for this good wish, the householder must offer the carollers honey and wine. Among the Great Russians, they wish the master prosperity in his home, whilst they foretell to the mistress that she will bake pies, which means she will be receiving guests. In the Christmas carols sung at the table, praise is always first and foremost given to bread:

We sing a song to
bread, We pay homage
to bread.

Many of the divinations concerned the coming year's harvest, as well as marriage. Divination using a straw, which is taken by tilting one's head back and catching it with the mouth from a sheaf, and which foretells happiness if a straw with an ear of corn is drawn, and misfortune if it is empty, is a form of agricultural divination. The custom of scattering grain on New Year's Day, observed in Great and Little Russia, is associated with a great celebration known as 'Avsen' among the Great Russians and 'Generous Evening' among the Little Russians. I believe that in pagan times this festival served to consecrate the grain prepared for sowing. Among the Little Russians, songs are sung on this occasion about Saint Elijah, who carries a whip made of rye; wherever he swings it, grain grows. Behind the

figure of Saint Elijah likely lay another pagan entity, who could be none other than

Lad-Svet, the all-reviving, all-giving source of every blessing — the White God, Svanovit, the patron of agriculture. In ancient times, the festival of Kolyada, or New Year, was a time for political divination: thus, from the Ólafsaga, we see that in Novgorod, at the festival of Iola or Kolyada, Vladimir's mother—who was renowned for her prophecies—was brought before the people, and she foretold the coming of a northern hero to Gardariki.

III

Remarks on pagan Slavic worship

in general, and in particular

in Russia

All Slavs shared the same religious foundations, as is evident from the similarities in present-day folk rituals, festivals, beliefs and divination practices; yet in its specific development, the Slavic religion was diverse. We are told without a doubt that the Baltic Slavs had pagan shrines or temples, and a priestly class. Yet there is no trace of either among the Rus', Poles and Czechs. Nestor states that the Rus' in Kyiv had idols standing on a hill, but there is no mention of priests or temples. In accounts of the conversion of the Rus', Polish and Czech Slavs to Christianity, there is no mention anywhere of opposition from priests or the destruction of pagan shrines. The song 'Zaboy, Slava and Lyudek' describes the struggle between pagans and Christians in Bohemia, and it seems that, if anywhere, it is there that we ought to have encountered priests and pagan shrines; yet there is nothing of the sort: idols stood in a sacred grove; there they made sacrifices to them, there they prayed. And Prince Vladimir's charter forbids praying by the water or,

at the place of worship, but not in the kapishas. Our well-known and respected archaeologist, Zorian Khodakovsky, was determined at all costs to find kapishas and priests in pagan Russia. He believes (amongst a wealth of other evidence) that the 'temples' of our ancestors were small towns or hillforts—those small earthen mounds with an entrance, usually semi-circular, which are found in various parts of Russia. As for the priests, Khodakovsky believes that the word *'knyaz'* is synonymous with the word *'ksyonz'*, and proves this by the fact that in Lithuanian documents, Russian priests are called 'popas', and Latin ones 'knyaz'. He identifies the priests in Oleg's treaty as the 'light-clad princes' who were 'at the Grand Prince's side', and surmises that if they did not take part in the campaign, it follows that they were priests; he also attributes the status of a spiritual figure to the Grand Prince himself, because Nestor, speaking of the hill on which the idols stood, stated that the prince and the people performed rituals there. Yet all these small settlements and earthen figures of every kind cannot yet be unequivocally recognised as Slavic; who can prove that other peoples did not construct similar ones, especially when they are found in Eastern Russia, where the Finns lived, even more so than in the South-West, where the Slavs had long been settled? The word 'gorod' cannot be taken exclusively to mean a temple, for among the Slavs 'gorod' generally signifies any circle or fenced-in place; hence the garden — 'vert' — is called a 'vertograd', and hence the circular dance is called a 'gorodok'; and a wreath bears the name 'gorod', and a woman's headdress is called

'gorod'. Khodakovsky himself agrees with this. 'Gorodki' or earthen figures may have been less suited to religious worship than to defence against enemies in the event of a sudden attack, for ambushes, and for hiding grain; and we know that the Slavs did indeed act in this way. As for priests, although the prince performed the rite, the people performed it too; thus, it was not the exclusive prerogative of the prince. In my opinion, the Slavs had no priests, but, as a thoroughly patriarchal people, every head of a household had the right to offer sacrifices with his family and to lead prayers before everyone. From Helmold we know that, despite the apparent existence of a priestly class among the Baltic Slavs, anyone could offer sacrifices; thus, at the sanctuary of Prova, all those who expressed a desire to offer a sacrifice were admitted. But since, in civil matters too, the elders—the Patres familiarum in Otto's chronicle, the lords among the Czechs—held primacy at the veche, maintained order, resolved disputes, and constituted the highest governing class of the people, they undoubtedly held primacy in worship as well. Hence, in the Kralodvorsky manuscript, in the song about Zabo, Slavo and Lyudek, it is stated that the father (otets) offered sacrifices to the gods. And since, in Slavic paganism, the prince in the community held the same status as every father of a family, a lord within his own clan, and since this status was always based on the same right of primogeniture and patriarchal authority, the prince, in relation to the community or the realm, held primacy in religious worship,

offered sacrifices and raised prayers on behalf of the whole people as a priest when matters concerned the entire community; just as a father or head of the clan performed sacred rites when matters concerned his own clan. This is why Nestor states: 'the prince and the people performed the rites'. I believe that even amongst the Baltic Slavs, the role of priests was based on the same principle, for Ditmar refers to such individuals as being appointed to the sanctuary. It follows, then, that the voice of the people was involved in the election of the priest, and therefore there was no caste system there. We already know that a rite is now performed in Little Russia which is very similar to the rite at the temple of Sventovit: this rite is performed by the head of the household; it is no wonder, then, that the priest of Sventovit was also the eldest of the heads of households. The power of the priests, says Helmold, is so great that even the king is held in lower esteem than the priest. But what does Helmold mean by 'king'? It seems to me that he likely means a voivode, whilst the true king or prince is in fact the priest. Nevertheless, these heads of families, in charge of the temple, already constituted, as it were, a distinct class: for they deceived the people with superstitions, divinations and apparitions for their own gain, and kept their teachings secret.

In the Baltic Slavic lands, worship took on a proper form: the priests wore white liturgical vestments, had their own special terms and words, and sacred staffs with which they struck the ground with considerable force. We can neither confirm nor deny the existence of such rites in other Slavic lands, although it is likely that here in Russia too there were

established rites which were passed down from generation

and thus constituted the religious service. This is evident from present-day folk rituals; if they have come down to us after such a long time, one must assume that they were, in some respect, well-established. However, the Slavic religion, whilst humanly reasonable and noble, even descended into crude fetishism amongst the people. According to the account of Ibn Fozlan, the Rus' worshipped idols and placed food offerings at their feet, believing that all this was provided by the gods, when in fact it was snatched away by birds. In the song about Zabo, Slava and Lyudek, the father brought food to the gods. Moreover, since the Slavs had sacred birds, and moreover, the gods themselves—as is evident from the myth of the cuckoo—transformed into birds, it may be that the Rus' did in fact feed the birds, and the Arab unjustly concluded that the food was intended for the wooden gods and had been stolen by the birds.

As to whether there were temples in Russia, we must admit, on the basis of chronicle accounts and other historical sources, that we cannot confirm their existence, yet neither can we deny it. Generally speaking, the temples of pagan peoples were not the same as the churches we have today; temples did not stand in every village, but were situated in a few places regarded as particularly sacred. Helmold says that all the Slavs flocked to the temple of Svatovit: it is likely that the Russian Slavs travelled there; but perhaps there were also several such temples in Russia.

Nestor says very little, in general, about the paganism of the Rus' Slavs. We learn from him that Vladimir erected on a hill near the palace courtyard idols of Perun with a silver head and a golden moustache, Dazhbog, Khrsa, Stribog, Simargl and Mokosh. I have already explained that Perun and Dazhbog are names for a light-bearing being. Stribog is referred to in *The Tale of Igor's Campaign* as the 'grandfather of the winds', and in Little Russian folktales we encounter 'Vetrov Batko' (Father of the Winds): this is a spirit, the personification of the wind. Mokosh, as I have already mentioned above, signified water. As for Simargl — I am unable to explain this foreign and, no doubt, corrupted name. Hrs is explained from the Persian language: Korsh or Korshid means 'sun'. The word Hrs cannot unambiguously mean 'red'. In Nestor's account, it apparently refers to Dazhbog, for this word is not separated from 'Dazhbog' *by a* conjunction, just like other names. In 'The Tale of Igor's Campaign', it is stated that the miraculous Vseslav reached Tmutorakan before the roosters crowed, cutting off the great Hrs' path. That is to say: he arrived in Tmutorakan before the roosters crowed, overtaking Hrs, that which comes after the roosters crow, i.e. the sun. The Persian word could easily have found its way to our ancestors, given the similarity between the sun-worship of the Persians and the Slavs as far back as the deepest antiquity. In addition to these gods, Nestor mentions Volos, calling him the god of cattle; in
The Tale of Igor's Campaign he is called Beles, and the poet Boyan is said to be his grandson. Slabinin believes that this god of wealth (cattle signify wealth), both physical

and spiritual,

is equivalent to Dye and synonymous with Perun. Glinka derived Beles from 'veli', whilst Russov and Veltman saw in him the Assyrian Bel: Bel was also a deity of animals. I categorically reject this interpretation, for I see no point in getting lost in conjecture. Of course, this is either one of the symbols of light, or a spirit—the patron of herds—whose significance was subsequently transferred to St Blasius.

Although the Nesterov gods apparently differed from the deities of other Slavs, since the mythological names were simply different designations for the same beings, the view of those who wish to separate Russian mythology from that of other Slavs is unjust. Apart from the idols erected on Perun's Hill, the Russian Slavs possessed an even more extensive body of mythology that escaped the chroniclers' notice. We already know, it seems, that the Russian Slavs honoured Lada, Mother Nature, and the god of light bearing the same name in the masculine form, although Nestor does not mention these names. Apart from these names in songs, there are numerous localities in Russia reminiscent of the names Lada and Leda: in the Novgorod province alone, Khodakovsky counted nine of them; there he also counted six reminiscent of the epithet Lada-Lelis-the-Bright. According to reports from the same distinguished archaeologist, we have names such as Belobogi, Chernobogi, Beloslavy, Chernoslavy, and Radogosty, reminiscent of Belbog, Chernobog and Radogost: proof that the Baltic deities were not alien to us. Moreover, we have several more such names, which

point to the existence of entirely unknown mythological beings, for example: Radobuzh, Khotobuzh, Lyubuzh, Zhedobuzh, which, when translated into modern language, become Rad-Bog, Lyubo-Bog, Khoti-Bog, Zhad-Bog: one may surmise the existence of certain Rad-gods, Lyubo-gods, Khoti-gods and Zhad-gods. If we add to all this the similarity of the rites of other Slavs to ours, and in particular the similarity between divination by means of a horse at the temple of Sventovit and our Christmas divination, the similarity between the harvest festival in Arkona and the custom in Little Russia before the Christmas festivities, then we shall undoubtedly acknowledge: 1) that our mythology was incomparably more comprehensive than that presented by Nestor;
2) that our mythology was closely linked to that of the Western Slavs, so that in essence it was one and the same.

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1. ↑ De bello Goth.
2. ↑ Chron. Slavor. p. 83. p. 183.
3. ↑ Ebb. vit. S. Ott. Act. Sanct. Jul. 433.
4. ↑ Other Texts of Nestor's Chronicle, 20.
5. ↑ *Chron. Slav*, ibid.
6. ↑ Folk Songs. The Science of Mythology.
7. ↑ Zend-Avest. I. Vol. 1. Th. 235. Kleuk. 18–21.
8. ↑ Ip. let. 5.
9. ↑ Chron. L. VI. 133. See Shaff. Cas. czesk. mus. 1844. Vol. IV.
10. ↑ Chron. L. VI. 136.
11. ↑ Script. rer. Germ. Hist. eccles. Vol. 11. p. 2.
12. ↑ Chr. Slav. 125.
13. ↑ Hist. eccles. ibid.
14. ↑ Chron. Sax. in Chr. Slav. Helm. et Arn. Vol. 53. No. 126.
15. ↑ Chron. Slav. 126.

16. ↑ Mat. verb. 14.
17. ↑ Ipata's Chronicle 5. Zend-Avesta Vend. Targ. 11. 307.
18. ↑ Saxo Gramm. Hist. Dan. L. XIV. pp. 288–289.
19. ↑ Chron. Slav. Book VI, p. 21.
20. ↑ ibid. Book II, Chapter XII, p. 234.
21. ↑ ibid. 225.
22. ↑ ibid. Book VI, 22; Book II, 235.
23. ↑ ibid.
24. ↑ Sax. Gram. Book XIV, p. 289. — Chr. Slav. Book I, 20. Book II, 235.
25. ↑ ibid.
26. ↑ Karamzov, History of the Russian State, vol. I, p. 47.
27. ↑ Hist. Boiem. Dubr. Book I, p. 7.
28. ↑ Shaff. Old Germanic. Vol. I, Part III, § 18, 350.
29. ↑ Philips, *German History*, Vol. I, p. 231. Grimm, *Ancient German Law*, pp. 778–779.
30. ↑ Zend-Avest. Vol. I, pp. 284–324. 2nd ed. Jescht-Mifhr. 225.
31. ↑ Pausanias, Book III, 18.
32. ↑ Steierm. Zeitschr. 1821. Vol. I, p. 78.— Creutz. Symb. Vol. IV, p. 67.
33. ↑ Symb. und Myth. III. 412. Vollm. Myth. p. 437.
34. ↑ Uschold. See *Wissensch. der Myth.* by Hanusch, p. 132.
35. ↑ Symb. III. 411.
36. ↑ Rauschn.
37. ↑ History of the Lithuanian People, vol. 1, p. 7.
38. ↑ Shaff. Staroz. vol. I, p. 51.
39. ↑ Zend-Av. 1. B. 240.
40. ↑ General History of the North, p. 274.
41. ↑ Russian Folk Holidays and Superstitions, Vol. I, p. 254.
42. ↑ Chronicle of the Grand Duchy of Moscow (Polish translation), Book VII, p. 485.
43. ↑ Sarnic. p. 1028.
44. ↑ De Siles. rebus C. VII. p. 112.
45. ↑ Nestor's Ancient Text, Vol. 1, pp.
46. ↑ Songs of the Polish People by Pauli, p. 32.
47. ↑ Slavic Anthology, no. 244.
48. ↑ Chr. ant. sax. Chr. Slav. N. p. 12G.
49. ↑ Chron. Slav. 123, 160, 183.
50. ↑ Chr. Slav. 183.
51. ↑ Vita Sancti Ottonis. Act. Sanctor. Jul. p. 403, 437–439.
52. ↑ ibid.
53. ↑ Die Wissensch. des Myth. 100.
54. ↑ V. S. O. 436.

55. ↑ Slav. 414.
56. ↑ History of the Polish Nation. Vol. I, p. 116.

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57. ↑ The Science of Mythology 102–104.
58. ↑ ibid.
59. ↑ General Universal History by Leo, vol. I.
60. ↑ Hanusch.
61. ↑ V. S. Ott, p. 403.
62. ↑ ibid. 437.
63. ↑ Script. Rer. Germanic. p. 513.
64. ↑ Chron. Slav. Vol. I, p. 53, p. 123.
65. ↑ Script. Rer. Germ. p. 510
66. ↑ Slavic Collection 243.
67. ↑ General World History; History of the Celts.
68. ↑ Vit. Sancti Ott. 410.
69. ↑ Creutz. Symb. 11, 336.
70. ↑ V. S. O. 440.
71. ↑ Sax. Gramm. p. 294.
72. ↑ Symb. 1. 297. ibid. 11. 336.
73. ↑ Sax. Gramm. 299.
74. ↑ Symb. 1. 296.
75. ↑ Hist. Nar. polsk. vol. 1. Mythol. Sław.
76. ↑ Sax., ibid.
77. ↑ Stryik's Chronicle, vol. 1.
78. ↑ Gust. Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, vol. 2, p. 257. — Crom. 53.
79. ↑ Hist. Polon.

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